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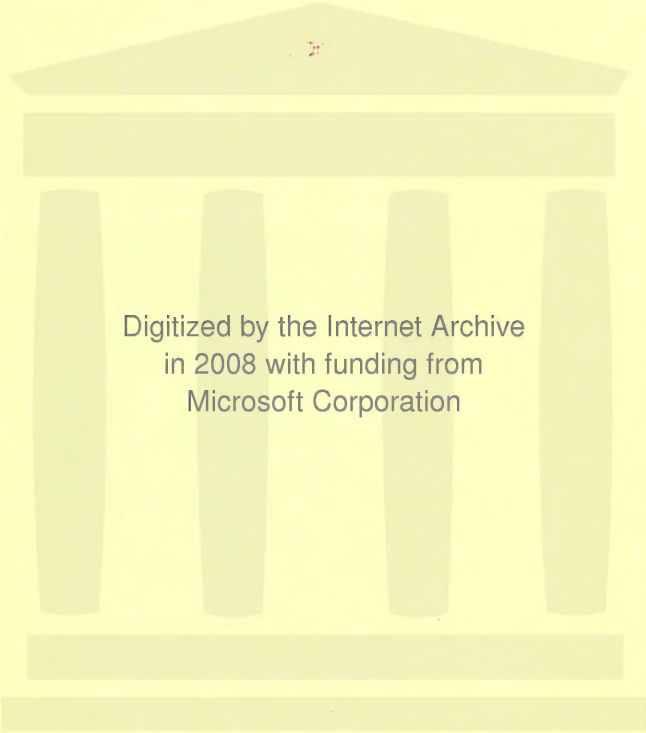
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CIVIC EDUCATION

SOCIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS AND COURSES

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The making of competent citizens is the most important function of the schools of a democracy. Conscious civic education, however, has as yet little tradition, and less science, of its own. Its materials are not less abundant in the social groups about us than is nitrogen in the air in which we live; but the fixation of these materials for practical service, like the fixation of nitrogen, is a problem which may well tax our best patience and wisdom. It is the problem to which this book is addressed. Thus *Civic Education* is designed to follow the ideal of service as expressed in the motto of the World Book Company, "Books that apply the world's knowledge to the world's needs"

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PREFACE

HUNDREDS, probably thousands, of the teachers and others interested in schools are now wrestling with the problems of civic education. They believe that our country needs more and better education for citizenship than it is now getting. It appears to them that our public and private schools, both higher and lower, have thus far made but partial and insufficient contributions toward the civic knowledge and idealism that our country, with its complex economic and political life, certainly needs. These schools do achieve much in general education; but of purposive civic education they give little, and that little is too often made futile by its formalism or wasted by its puerility.

America needs more and better education for citizenship — to that proposition all will give ready assent. Many commissions are studying ways and means of civic and other forms of social education. Special efforts are being made everywhere in teacher-training institutions to inspire and equip regular or special teachers for this difficult work. Philanthropy finances the "scouting education" of the Boy Scout movement in large part because of its promising contributions to good citizenship. The exactions of the war and the economic perturbations consequent on the war have forced us to see that our political institutions, serviceable as they have become, are not fully equal to the social loads they must carry.

Hence the current varied and intense aspirations for more extended and more scientific civic education in schools, especially those that claim our children from their twelfth to their eighteenth years. Statesmen and other students of social life are insistent in their demands. Progressive educators are generally awake to the need. It is only when we try to define specific objectives that we find ourselves

in a jungle as yet largely unexplored. Naturally we make little progress in devising effective means and methods where our actual goals are so obscure. It does not take long to find that memorization of formal texts, and rigid recitation treatment of dry didactic materials, will rarely, in present-day school life, contribute to the functioning habits and knowledge, to say nothing of the appreciations and ideals, that blend in approved civic behavior.

This book is designed to aid teachers and other educators who are seriously trying to find and develop more purposive and effectual objectives and means of civic education. The discussions and conclusions here presented are based upon these convictions: (a) that the aims or objectives of any proposed type of education must first of all be derived from studies, essentially sociological in their nature, of the needs of contemporary societies, especially as evidenced in the adult members thereof; (b) that it is just as practicable and desirable to use a precise and specific terminology in educational discussion as in other fields of applied science; and (c) that what should properly be called *civic* education is only one part or type of education,—a part of increasing relative importance, indeed,—and that as respects specific aims and essential methods it will differ greatly from other types.

Teachers and other educators may conveniently and not inaccurately be divided into two classes—those endowed with some ability, possessors of some disposition to be curious, inquisitive, inventive, and progressive in their work; and those who find little time and have little desire to do other than prescribed and routine work.

The present book is designed for the former class only. The writer is convinced that much valuable and necessary work in education will always have to be done by teachers who can pretend to no originality; and much more by those

who, even if endowed with some gifts of creativeness, are nevertheless too much preoccupied in meeting the routine requirements of their tasks to permit the development of these gifts.

The educator who can do little original work may be very serviceable in well-established fields of training, instruction, and growth-control; but he has as yet little place in direct civic education. The field is too new, the really serviceable means and methods too undefined, if not elusive. For youths from twelve to eighteen, at least, better no purposive civic education at all than the bungling and bruising efforts of men and women who can only employ the crude didactic tools of intellectual apprehension that have evolved in connection with the centuries of effort to enforce the learning of foreign languages, mathematics, and history.

Because of the character of the audience addressed, therefore, the writer has not hesitated to introduce numberless questions and problems that will doubtless require years for their answer and solution. Neither has he refrained from setting forth provisional interpretations and solutions where it has seemed that these might contribute to further understanding or provoke more concrete discussion.

Each of the first two parts of this book traverses in a measure the same ground. In Part I, the general aspects of the problems considered are presented. Part II is devoted to a more detailed study of certain of the problems found in Part I.

Civic education will for the present be largely a localized study in its best developments — that is, it will be in particular communities, schools, or under particular teachers that its most significant achievements may be expected. Certain portions of the subject must, indeed, like good nature study, always spring from local conditions, repudiating formal texts and cut-and-dried procedures. Certain

other portions may be based on manuals and texts that ought to be capable of general use — of which, in the subjects of civics and economics, many forerunners have long been on the market. For the present, however, each school, or at any rate the schools of each progressive community, must, outside the more formalized subjects, initiate their own efforts and develop their own leaders. Toward such work it is hoped that the materials of this book may prove helpful.

The reader must remember that we have as yet no objective criteria or standards of educational values and certainly none in the field of civic education; hence here one man's opinion may be held to be as good as another's — and perhaps a "good sight better," as the recent immigrant remarked. The history teacher will almost certainly dissent from the evaluations of his subject found herein. He will still contend that history as a chronologically organized, compendious subject has been or can be so taught as to be functional of civic results.

But the time has passed when the partisans of any particular subject or group of related subjects can claim important shares of school time and energy without at least indicating their attitude toward claims of other subjects and the defenders of other educational values. In fact, a very heavy burden of proof should now be carried by the special pleaders for the prescription of any particular group of subjects in secondary education. Undoubtedly all the subjects commonly urged for inclusion in secondary schools are valuable — but not necessarily valuable for all classes of learners. The disposition on the part of all specialists is toward each having his own subject made compulsory for all learners. The wealth of knowledge now available for teaching purposes, our increased understanding of the variabilities in powers, interests, and probable future re-

sponsibilities of learners, coupled with clearer perceptions of the significance of educational values, justify us in upholding ideals of very flexible curricula for secondary schools. Certainly the time has not yet arrived when we should make universally prescriptive in secondary schools anything but the briefest presentations even under civics. But we should develop, according to the resources of our schools, a wealth of elective offerings — from service projects and “scouting” to hard problems in contemporary politics, from inspirational readings to detailed studies of the historical roots of the economic and other social problems that must vex the minds and try the souls of the next generation of voters.

D. S.

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PART ONE
SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

CIVIC EDUCATION

CHAPTER ONE

SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS: INTRODUCTORY CONSIDERATIONS

The purposes, aims, or objectives of all education find their final justification in the increased social well-being which results from right education. But only from sociology can we determine what are valid standards and conditions of social well-being. In a certain sense any one who proposes enlargements or reforms in education rests his case on foundations of sociological fact or assumption. Consciously or unconsciously he strives to express himself as a sociologist.

The sociologist studies human beings as they live and act in groups — societies. He seeks first to find the facts of group behavior, and then to control the structures and processes of group behavior toward better ends.

All kinds of social groups or societies can thus be studied. The family, the business partnership, and the schoolroom class are societies no less than a city, a nation, or a race. Social groups, like all other things human, may be good or bad (as affecting the individual or collective well-being of men, women, and other sentient beings); they may be incipient or mature, complete or incomplete, efficient or inefficient.

SOCIAL BETTERMENT

To sociologists (or social economists, as many prefer to call the men and women whose chief concern is with the *betterment* of societies or helping the people who compose them) even more than to other well-informed men, human societies seem nearly always capable of improvement. They think largely of *better* families, *better* nations, *better* economic arrangements — and even of *better* prisons, *better* schools,

better streets. They see endless possibilities of extending human happiness through better stock, better government, better education, better economic production, better worship, better recreation. (Perhaps the word "well-being" is to be preferred, since the notion of "happiness" seems too closely associated with that of "pleasure as an end in itself.")

Coöperation. The general realization on earth of lives that shall be richer in the things that we call good or pleasant (in the long run) and less subject to the things we call evil or unpleasant, depends above everything else, as sociologists see it, on increase in varieties, scope, and efficiency of *co-operative* action. Throughout all his history man has been, indeed, very coöperative. Some of the structures that he long ago evolved for that purpose were wonderfully effective — the family, the clan, the village community, the partnership, the militant nation, the worshiping congregation, the master-apprentice combination, and the buyer-seller combination for economic exchange. Some of the social processes created during the last ten thousand years are as yet too near to call forth the full admiration they deserve — processes of collective defense, of administering justice, of invention, of recording and diffusing knowledge, of exchanging products, of organizing productive effort under the corporation.

But the very increase of social knowledge upon which we now pride ourselves reveals endless possibilities still ahead. Our social groups are like the bodies that nature gives — despite their fundamental healthiness, they still abound in frailties, they are very liable to disorders, and they frequently prove unequal to the new needs that an evolving world imposes upon them. To the social economist:

. . . all experience is an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untraveled world, whose margin fades
Forever and forever when I move.

THE RE-CREATION OF SOCIAL GROUPS

The most important social groups of human beings resemble organic species in this — the groups are relatively permanent, whilst their individual members come and go. New York, France, the Mohammedan Church, the Republican Party, and a university are social entities that have witnessed the infiltration and the silent departure of unnumbered members. Even that relatively transient group, the family, with its usual span of less than sixty years, witnesses periodically the accession of plastic children and their withdrawal twenty years later as shaped adults to form new unions.

The great drama of sociology is thus revealed — the perpetual processes by which every type of social group, from a boys' gang to an empire, must be perpetually renewing its membership, domesticating and training its recruits, educating its plastic novices. "The world" has gradually accumulated an immense stock of knowledge, customs, institutions — as well as machines, highways, cleared lands, and subjugated beasts. All this wealth — the social inheritance — passes on steadily from the older to the younger generations — with the hope that the newcomers will be able to appreciate and wisely to use the ancestral fortunes and in due season to add to them.

Not only is all this true of those vast groupings which we call "our country," or a Christian denomination or civilization, or society-at-large; it is no less true also of particular social groupings. The Methodist Church, the city of Philadelphia, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the American Federation of Labor, the New York Central Railroad, the Adams family, the lovers of Mendelssohn's music, the Sierra Club, and unnumbered other social groups — each of these has likewise its peculiar social or associational inheritance which attaches to the corporate entity and is

shared in by each new recruit as he reaches the full stature of responsible membership.

But education is the essentially central fact in the drama of socialization — the processes partly of inducing each new-comer in society to enter upon his inheritance, and partly, under some conditions, of compelling him to do so, or at least of forcibly restraining him from interference with others who would do so. It is the drama of an education that is not of schools alone, indeed, but is carried on in every home, church, club, shop, army, play place, theater, newspaper office, police court, library, and convention in the world. Often these educative processes are unobtrusive and silent, sometimes they are sensational and shocking. E. A. Ross in his book on *Social Control* has surveyed the very web of processes by which both young and old are educated toward good group membership. Sumner in his *Folkways*, Tarde in his *Imitation*, as well as other sociologists, have shown the magnitude and complexity of the processes historically developed.

Literature and other art loves to dwell upon the individuals who have refused tamely to submit to socialization. Indeed, the young — except the *very* young — are often reluctant to settle into the harness of group coöperation, especially into that of the larger groups. At all times and everywhere we find those who wish to share in the feast but not to pay the price. They want the social goods of family, state, private property, culture, and personal freedom without making the personal concessions and even sacrifices necessary to “keep up” these agencies.

Civilization, indeed, presents *two* kinds of drama — and like the popular shows of today, the performances are continuous! On the one hand we have tens of thousands of societies, little and big, accessioning, disciplining, domesticating, and assimilating new members. On the other are

millions of children, youths, men, and women, yielding to these socializing processes, but eager nevertheless to preserve their own individualities, those individual souls which ancestors from millions of years back projected for them. Science must here search always for the golden mean. Humanity or civilization can ruin itself just as certainly from too much, as from too little. organization, from being too co-operative as from being not coöperative enough.

EDUCATION ONE PROCESS IN SOCIAL BETTERMENT

Education, then, in its multifarious school and non-school aspects, devotes itself, now to making strong, resolute, and aggressive the individual; and anon to making him submissive, kindly, and coöperative. Now in one of its varieties it seeks to make of a few associates loyal, energetic, and regimented members of "small groups" — family, corporation, club, union, sect, or party; then, in other varieties, it seeks to produce the man devoted to the commonwealth, to humanity, to the service of God — the patriot, the humanitarian, the Christian.

Without number, therefore, are the purposes of education — its possible aims or objectives. Speculative writers often ask, "What is *the* aim of education?" The sociologist can only answer, "There is none — none, that is, distinct from the purposes or aims of life itself as expressed in human tendencies, or in civilization, or in what we may interpret as progress."

Education is a matter of many agencies, and not of schools alone as the obscure literature of the subject would sometimes lead us to believe. It centers most heavily on the plastic, the formative, years in the lives of human beings. Along countless channels it seeks first to make vital, functional, possessive, for each person those things from the general and particular social inheritance which he can "take

on" or utilize. In highly developed special forms it may also seek to prepare choice spirits to add to the world's goods that the next generation may be the richer by new knowledge, new beauty, new aspirations.

Differentiation of education in purposes follows the same lines along which the "goods" of society are differentiated — the social values or worths found in various forms of security, health, wealth, righteousness, knowledge, beauty, religion, and sociability. The history of education, as well as any cross-section of contemporary practice, shows hundreds of avenues along which men have worked to make of oncoming generations competent defenders, workers, voters, thinkers, and players. By numberless means these have been fostered toward being healthy and strong of body, fearless in battle, diligent in industry, moral in family life, public-spirited in the community, loyal to the state, reverent toward God.

Neither the state nor any other social organization has yet achieved perfection in its educational processes. In a dynamic or progressive society it is safe to predict that final perfection is never to be achieved, since new and higher goals always reveal themselves far beyond present stages of practicable accomplishment. But it is clear that civilized societies are steadily shifting to those specialized types of educational agencies that we call "schools" a constantly increasing share of responsibility for difficult and complicated forms of education. Agencies other than schools have, in many cases, done well enough in the past; but they will not suffice for present and future needs.

That is the meaning of contemporary demands that many and varied schools shall be provided for vocational education, instead of a few for those aristocratic vocations, the professions, as heretofore. That explains why contemporary social economists, forced to see the wastes of happiness resulting from physical defect, seek through general or

special schools the varieties of physical education that shall assure to the next generation better health and physique than have been the portions of the present generation.

CURRENT DEMANDS FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

And that, too, explains current demands for civic education in and through schools. America needs and wants more and better education for citizenship. The majority of adult Americans are, of course, not bad citizens, as judged by historic standards; but it is apparent to all careful observers of social life that the task of citizenship in a democracy as large and economically complex as ours imposes heavier responsibilities every year. The men who settled the colonies, and those who built up the states as frontiers were pushed westward, were in the main good citizens for their times and places, in spite of the fact that their schooling gave them little purposive civic education. So were the "Boys of '76," as well as those of 1812, of 1861, and again of 1898. And when the latest crisis came America found that she could confidently rely upon the higher civic behavior of her sons and daughters to play a fine part in the Great War.

American life — in the home, on the farm, in the shop, and even on the street — together with American education — as given by public and private schools, churches, the press, the stage, and numberless agencies of less direct influence — has given us a citizenship that on the whole is law-abiding, progressive, and possessed of social good will toward all the world.

Future social evolution. Why, then, do we find statesmen, educators, and other students of contemporary social life not only keenly interested, but even uneasy and urgent, in promoting more purposive and more far-reaching civic education? It might appear, superficially, that they were reflecting severely upon the ideals and achievements of our

forebears. At bottom, however, that is not the case. It is true that for purposes of propaganda we all revert occasionally to historic instances of corrupt politics, of national greed, of the ineptitudes of adolescent democracy. But we are, after all, not blind to the devotion, honesty, coöperation, good will, and intelligence that have made America what it is. Most of our fathers as well as ourselves have been and are pretty good citizens as the qualities of citizenship must be judged by proper sociological standards.

It is not the past, but the future, that now concerns us. We are anxious not to lose the momentum of our three centuries of social evolution. We are certain that the future presents difficulties and responsibilities not faced by the past. We have grown to be a very numerous people; our free lands have been absorbed; our raw resources have been largely preëmpted, if not consumed. Our economic life has become complex beyond all previous example, and our economic interdependence correspondingly far-reaching and acute. Aspirations for "more democracy" — political, social, cultural, industrial, religious — increase in all parts of society, and thus greatly complicate, if they do not arrest, the operation of other means making for social efficiency. In a hundred respects it is certain that the average American citizen of the future will face responsibilities calling for degrees of intelligence and kinds of coöperative effort which in the past have been demanded only of a few leaders.

The civic education upon which we have built this republic has been largely of an indirect order. Home and church and school inculcated the simpler pre-civic social virtues — that is, everyday morals. Public and private schools have insured a constant increase of literacy, which our forefathers were right in believing to be one of the primary foundation stones of good democratic citizenship. In spite of instances and occasional tendencies of a harmful character, the Ameri-

can press has contributed immeasurably to the upbuilding of intelligent civic consciousness and ideals. Scores of other agencies have been at work — even including commercial enterprises, international intercourse, scientific research, and finally war itself.

But of conscious and purposive civic education based upon a clear diagnosis of probable needs of adults, we have had heretofore little indeed, beyond the instruction in vernacular reading which early became the central objective in all public schools. American history and geography in very formal and somewhat meager measure we have also included in elementary school curricula primarily for the purposes of imparting civic vision and ideals. Studies in civil government and community civics have been developed experimentally in progressive schools, but so far neither specific aims nor methods in these subjects have been at all satisfactory.

The pressing educational problems of the present, then, as regards preparation for citizenship, are to be found not so much in the domains of indirect education, as in those of direct and purposive instruction and training toward clearly defined goals. An analogy from another coördinate field of education will illustrate this.

THE EXAMPLE OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

There began in our more progressive states some fifteen or twenty years ago a movement for publicly supported "vocational education." It was felt that many youths were deprived of opportunities to acquire vocational skills and knowledge; that industries, agriculture, and homemaking were suffering because of the incompetency of young workers; and that social well-being on the whole was impaired for these reasons. It took time for us to gain proper perspective in the campaign for vocational education. Finally

the following conclusions have become clear: (a) All adults, now and in the past, have followed vocations, and, since instincts give man only slight immediate vocational powers, it follows that all these adults have, by one means or another, received vocational education, using that term in a broad, but sociologically justifiable, sense. (b) The methods of vocational education in the past have been substantially of three kinds, namely: (1) school vocational education, which gives us about 5 per cent of all adult workers, chiefly physicians, army officers, stenographers, pharmacists, engineers, agricultural experts, elementary school teachers, and ministers; (2) apprenticeship vocational education, giving from 5 per cent to 6 per cent of all our workers, chiefly printers, locomotive engineers, barbers, plumbers, and some carpenters, machinists, electricians, tailors, and other skilled artisans; and (3) what may properly be designated "pick-up" vocational education, giving us approximately 90 per cent of our workers, among whom must be numbered nearly all farmers, homemakers, factory workers, clerks, and casual laborers. In essence, then, the current "movement for vocational education" is in reality a social effort to substitute for "pick-up" vocational education more effectual forms — that is, more direct, purposive, and pedagogical forms.

The leaders of this movement do not condemn as worthless the vocational education of the past; they perceive that it has brought us to the wonderful stage of economic development we have reached today: but they strongly hold that the old system is not sufficient for future needs, any more than was the private "hit-or-miss" literary education of former ages sufficient for modern cultural and social needs.

Civic education. Similarly must we interpret the current agitation for the extension and improvement of civic education. The wine of the new citizenship inevitably demanded by our complex social order can no longer be preserved in

the old bottles. Domestic and community virtues, indispensable as they must continue to be for "social group" solidarity, may be expected to play relatively diminishing rôles in that citizenship which must increasingly participate in a hundred responsibilities growing out of "federate" or "large group" social activities — political, economic, sanitary, cultural, religious, and even martial.

Sociologists and educators encounter many obstacles in planning for better civic education. Perhaps the most immediately baffling is the prevailing confusion of terminology. We hardly know just what are the specific objectives, means, and methods that we are talking about. Again, while it is easy enough to depict general needs of social education, it is very difficult to define the specific needs to be found among distinguishable social groups and ages of learners. Then, too, available means and methods of work are but poorly defined.

Hence it will be the first purpose of this book to analyze those essentially sociological problems that must be solved before we can do effective work on courses and programs.

THE AIMS OF EDUCATION

The words "civic education" should, at the outset, therefore, be made accurately descriptive of certain distinctive objectives and procedures in the total scheme of education. We need not only a positive content for the term, but also a formulation of its limitations — the things that are excluded from it. (It is a weakness of terminology in education today that many of the technical words used are like rubber bags — they may be stretched to include almost anything. Educators are often loath to say what their favorite shibboleths exclude.)

Either by analysis of all the qualities found in an approved type of adult, and segregation of those due to education

(school and non-school); or else by survey of all types of education now consciously promoted by schools, homes, and other agencies, we can secure a conspectus of the hundreds of aims and procedures that can properly be called educational. These we can proceed to group or classify as is done with the phenomena studied in any science.

Within the entire field of educational objectives toward "good manhood," "good citizenship," "social efficiency," "sound character," etc., these classifications may be based upon the principal ends controlling:

(1) **Physical education.** One set of educational procedures aims primarily at promoting development of body, physical strength in general, ideals of health, special physical powers, recreative interests, beauty, longevity, health knowledge (personal hygiene, and social sanitation). Incidentally — but only secondarily — these aims affect vocational success, cultural success, and social success.

(2) **Vocational education.** Another set of educational procedures aims primarily at vocational success — in terms of the skills, technical knowledge, appreciations, and social ideals required to succeed in a specified vocation — e.g., carpenter, poultry grower, or electrical engineer. Incidentally, these aims overlap with those of physical, cultural, and social education.

(3) **Cultural education.** A third set of objectives centers in the cultivation of those intellectual and æsthetic interests, appreciations, and non-vocational powers that enrich the personal or individual life, apart from social or vocational ends. These objectives involve chiefly development of "high grade" consumers' appreciations (in art, literature, travel, general knowledge, history, science, and the like), sometimes accompanied by powers of "amateur" execution (painting, music, craftsmanship, research). Cultural education as here defined has incidental but not primary relation-

ships with the forms of efficiency which are designated as physical, vocational, and social.

THE AIMS OF SOCIAL EDUCATION

(4) A fourth set of aims relates primarily to fitting the individual for successful *group* membership. For convenience a man's group relationships may be classified as: associate, federate, and spiritual. *Associate* groups are those where personal acquaintance and personal contact prevail. Neighborhood rural communities, villages, countrysides, towns, clubs, congregations, crews, camps, partnerships, companies, schools, clans, local vocational unions, local political party groups, etc., are associate groups.

Federate groups involve slight personal contact of members, hence must function chiefly through delegates, representatives, laws, written communication, etc. "Large community" (or better, commonwealth) groups — cities, counties, provinces, states, nations, empires, federations, alliances — as well as large religious, vocational, cultural, political party, standard of living, racial, linguistic, and sumptuary groups are here classified as "federate groups."

Spiritual relationships are those involving primarily God, departed saints, etc.

It is obvious that any social group can function in defense or other vocational coöperations, in recreation, worship, mutual culture, race perpetuation, sociability, etc. Hence while all social education aims toward promoting the effective functioning of the group, its aims in the case of the individual are properly limited to preparing him to use his physical strength, his vocational powers, his culture, his sociability, his marital and parental dispositions, his spiritual leanings, his combative instincts in *socially effective* ways.

(5) In the earlier stages of the education of individuals, procedures will sometimes be found which cannot well be

classified in only one of the above categories. Reading as taught to small children will later function, perhaps equally, in realization of cultural, vocational, and social objectives. Physical play in some forms may give results of equal importance to physical and to social development. But in later stages every scientific tendency in education is toward differentiation of specific objectives as a condition of effective administration. Such differentiation presupposes classification and comparative valuation of ends to be achieved, first considered with reference to individuals and society in general, but finally with reference to specific types, classes, or grades of individuals and particular societies.

Kinds of social education. Within the general field of social education, then, we can distinguish three large divisions: (a) that which fits the individual primarily for good membership in family and non-political *associate* groups—moral education; (b) that which fits for membership in political and all other federate groups—civic education; and (c) that which fits for religious relationships with deity—religious education.

The evolution of early social life took place chiefly in connection with associate groups and religious relationships. Primitive social groups were small, and intergroup relationships infrequent and of the simplest order—usually war or barter. The evolution of federate groupings of political kinds—phratries, federated clans, expanded tribes, subjugated areas, city-states, provinces, kingdoms, nations, federations, alliances—is but of the sociological yesterday. Since this political evolution has involved terrific strains, contests, and incessant efforts to promote “understanding at a distance,” it is easily to be understood why recorded history is devoted almost exclusively to the politics of “federate” groups. In the basic evolution of social qualities it is probable that the village ranks next to the family in

importance; but historians find little to record in the ceaseless interplay of social forces in village life.

FEDERATE GROUPS DEVELOP NEEDS OF ORGANIZED CIVIC
EDUCATION

We can thus again interpret current public interest in civic education as a school function. Statehood in its modern manifestations — nationalism, municipal relationships, the province — affects the lives and welfare of men as never before. Men once relied heavily upon the state for only one function — security of life and property against external foes. Later the state became the chief agency for the administration of legal justice. Now we depend upon it for education, road-building, mail carriage, fire protection, policing, coinage, and the supervision of scores of otherwise private functions — banking, meat-packing, railway transportation, sanitation, and many others. Some of us want it to undertake transportation, house-building, coal-mining, and operation of “movies.”

But it is not merely the political functions of society that thus become complicated and of momentous importance. Many strictly private functions have long transcended village boundaries. A large part of modern exchange of commodities takes place over thousands of miles of distance. Wheat, cotton, coffee, and rubber growers sell their products a third of the way round the earth from places of production. The organized daily gossip that we call news comes to us through agencies that are almost as impersonal to us as machines. The workers in particular fields of technical direction, investment of capital, or manual labor unionize themselves in battalions that reach from one boundary of a nation to another. Worshipers organize themselves in armies that overlap many nations.

Science and invention diminish distance and other bar-

riers to social intercourse, but they so multiply and magnify social interdependencies that face-to-face contacts come to play a negligible part in many of the most vital of human relationships. Current aspirations for democracy, seeking to exalt not only the individual, but every kind of individual, complicate social structure and processes still more. Democratic conditions are hard enough to secure within primary groups where the warmth of face-to-face contacts prevails; but the difficulties are enhanced tenfold when distance begets impersonality and the social magnitudes to be dealt with override the possibilities of personal likings and "small group" appeals.

Hence the persistent, even if only half-articulate, demands in all civilized countries, for varieties and amounts of civic education adequate to prepare men for their recently developed responsibilities and opportunities in the social order now so rapidly evolving. The empires developed through conquest in the past were indeed complex, but only a specialized "governing class" needed to be educated for the functions of social control over those "large groups." Now we diffuse that control very widely. Civic virtues have heretofore been simply the moral virtues expanded, but that process of providing for democratic social control of right kinds will no longer suffice. Society must address itself more than ever for security to teachers — not, in civic matters, so much to teachers in general, perhaps, as to specialized teachers of civic education.

CHAPTER TWO

SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS: CIVIC EDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

THE PENDING REORGANIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

THERE is a new and better secondary education now in process of formation in America. The historic stereotyped high school subjects of study are being examined from new angles. Heretofore it has been a matter of unquestioned academic faith that their educational worth was great. Hence educational discussion was chiefly concerned with best methods of teaching and testing them. Now many educators are daring to question whether, after all, the study of algebra is so important that all high school pupils should be required to take it. Some are losing confidence in the educational values of French, Ancient History, and Physics as now taught. They even suggest that the objectives of the English studies ought carefully to be reëxamined from the standpoint of ascertained social needs and learners' possibilities.

New demands. In the meantime new demands upon secondary education are also being made. Many laymen as well as educators believe that the public high schools especially should devote far more attention and effort to what is vaguely called physical education. Some, still holding that the general or liberal arts high school should concern itself largely with "cultural" education, insist that more should be done to teach during adolescence those appreciations, tastes, and special forms of insight that raise the levels of utilization and give resources wherewith richly to fill the leisure hours of adult life. Vocational guidance and practical arts are thought by others to be of much potential

importance in secondary education. All seem now to be agreed that in the 9th or 10th grade there should be a course in "general science" the objectives of which should be essentially "cultural" rather than "practical," in the vocational sense.

Demands for more and better civic education are a part of the new movement. The public support of high schools has long claimed justification on the ground that these were essentially schools of "good citizenship." This claim does not now stand up well under critical analysis, it is true; but there can be no doubt that it has always embodied strong aspirations. We all know that high school graduates will furnish to society a far larger proportion of leaders in business, followers of the highest vocations, and men and women of influence generally, than will those young persons who do not enter high schools. Naturally we desire that in proportion to their opportunities these graduates shall be disposed and able to be excellent citizens.

Now there are many prospects that we are, as a people, bent upon translating our aspirations more definitely into programs of achievement than heretofore. We are especially determined that more of the social sciences shall be taught in our secondary schools—under which term are to be included the junior high schools which will probably increasingly replace the upper grade organization of the elementary school in all progressive communities.

In fact, we are seeking something more comprehensive and better than the teaching of the social sciences. We want to assure better *civic education*, whether by means of formal studies, or by any other means which will "function."

The proposed "reorganization of secondary education" may well involve some rearrangements or extensions of departmental teaching. We ought soon to have in all our high schools specialists who know much about the aims and

methods of physical education. Our larger secondary schools will certainly have specialists in vocational guidance.

Specialists as teachers. Similarly we shall certainly tend to evolve a professional group of specialists in civic education. At present we usually assign to teachers of history the civics subjects. There is of course no inherent reason why teachers schooled in historical studies should be found specially qualified to organize and administer civic education, even though the historical sciences are properly to be included among the social sciences. But many "history majors" in college develop also exceptional interests in economics, political science, sociology, and other social sciences. From them will come probably during the next few years a large proportion of the departmental teachers of civics and other subjects making up the courses in civic education.

Let it be assumed that the reader is either now or in expectancy such a teacher, employed in a combined junior and senior high school, to organize and conduct all the specific forms of education directly designed to produce good citizenship. He has had several college courses in history and a few in economics. Consulting his own ease he would prefer to teach history only, but he has become doubtful as to the importance of history, as now taught, in a scheme of civic education. He would be glad to teach high school seniors the rather formal economics which he himself had in college, but here again he is aware that economics is but one of various means for vitalizing civic education in grades seven to ten by various activities or projects of which scouting may be regarded as simply an exceptionally successful extra-school example. The purpose here is to survey the field of such a teacher's work, to indicate its few solved and its many unsolved problems, and to suggest means for the further study of the latter.

What should be expected from these teachers? What will probably be their problems? Questions like the following provide serviceable approaches here:

- a. What is the meaning of civic education?
- b. What are the present needs of civic education?
- c. What shall be the objectives of civic education?
- d. Can we now find sociological sources or foundations whereon to base replies to the foregoing questions?
- e. What shall be the methods of civic education?
- f. Can we now find psychological guidance to the discovery of those methods and also to the testing of the results?

RESULTS AS SHOWN IN AN ADULT CITIZEN

Assume the case of Mr. B, who at the age of forty is in all essential respects a man to be approved both for his personal and for his social qualities. We should speak of him as a "good" man, or, loosely, as a good citizen. All his admirable qualities, resting on foundations of good heredity and nurture, reflect the education to which he has been subjected — the education of his home, church, and community environment, the education of the schools he has attended, and finally the self-imposed education of his later years of self-direction.

Personal efficiency. On the physical side Mr. B possesses the health and strength essential to work and general happiness. He has a reasonable knowledge of personal hygiene. He is wise enough to employ expert medical service when he needs it. But the kinds of education that have contributed to these qualities cannot properly be called civic. If, however, at some stage those who taught aimed specifically to interest him in the needs and possibilities of *public sanitation* and so to educate him that later he would consciously comply with sanitary regulations and laws and, in addition, take an active part in promoting the further development

of these forms of *public service*, such education could properly be called civic.

Mr. B is also vocationally efficient — that is, in whatever line of work he has undertaken, he can render a large amount of useful service with relatively small expenditure of effort. As a result he can “live well,” and adequately support those dependent upon him. But here again we must recognize that such purposive vocational education as he has received cannot properly be described as civic — notwithstanding the tendency of careless writers sometimes to imply that the controlling purpose of vocational education is “good citizenship.” Apart from his vocation, he will of course be expected to render *public service* — perhaps as a soldier, sometimes as an unpaid official, and possibly often as an upholder of right standards of public behavior. Toward these, of course, civic education in some form (including military training when not specialized on a paid or professional basis) must contribute.

Again, Mr. B possesses a variety of cultural interests which enrich his life, enable him fruitfully to spend his leisure and to participate in the “higher life” generally. His fondness for some form of music, literature, sport, or travel gives him diversion, wholesome recreation, and incidentally induces him to associate with those of similar interests and to contribute to the advancement of the special cultures to which he is devoted.

But his cultural interests and powers are only remotely related to his moral and civic qualities. Highly cultured men sometimes discharge their civic obligations very badly; and men with fine civic conscience and exhibiting admirable civic behavior are often very deficient in culture.

This brings us, then, to the fourth set of qualities possessed by Mr. B. Assuming him to be an “all-round” efficient man, he will add to his physical, vocational, and

cultural efficiency *social* efficiency in the more specific sense. That means that as a member of social groups — small or large — he will be a good conformist and a positive force. He will be moral, law-abiding, coöperative, friendly, patriotic, and religious — a good “group member.” He will be “strong” and “sound” in family relations, as a churchman, in connection with political parties, and as a promoter of community well-being. These qualities of “social efficiency” will incidentally contribute to his health, vocational success, and cultural growth; but from the standpoint of educational processes all history proves that they can and should be made ends in themselves.

THE SOCIALLY EFFICIENT MAN

The efficient man (or woman) as we know him, then, is a composite of many parts and qualities. One set of these qualities we recognize as being primarily physical — physical health, physical strength, physical endurance, physical grace. Another set of his qualities we think of as primarily vocational — the skills, technical knowledge, and workers' ideals that, from small beginnings acquired between twelve and twenty years of age, have grown to be a substantial part of his total character and productive powers. A third group of his qualities we describe as cultural — his enduring personal interests in good speech, good reading, good music, good pictures, travel, nature, history, refined manners, and the like. A fourth set of the qualities which make him worth while are essentially social — the qualities which are directly reflected in his moral, civic, and religious behavior.

Sources of efficiency. Toward the production of the array of approved qualities found in the man who is socially and individually efficient many agencies have contributed. His stock, ancestry, or heredity provided the foundations of body and instincts. The conditions of his nurture shaped

and reshaped these during the entire period of his prenatal and postnatal growth. Taking him as we find him, we may safely guess that his parents were healthy, intelligent, moral, and industrious people; that they insured to him during his prolonged infancy ample food, shelter, and rest; and that they made it possible for him to have an abundance of play, association with others of his own age, and a wide range of experience. But they also "trained him in the way he should go," forcing him, where imitation and suggestion did not suffice, to "behave properly," to exhibit decent manners, to work, and to take care of his body.

When he first went to school at six years of age he was already well advanced in the ways of the world that was becoming increasingly his. He had acquired vernacular speech, numberless motor powers, and a host of forms of social behavior toward parents, older brothers, playfellows, adult acquaintances, and strangers. He only "played" at work as yet, but on the cultural side his home and neighborhood environment had already given him many likings, "dislikings," interests, tastes, appreciations.

For the next ten or fifteen years his schools played a large, but in only a few particular respects a paramount, part in making him what he eventually became. To his early schools he owed almost wholly his mastery of the mechanics of reading, writing, composition, and numbers.

His later schools did much to increase and deepen his knowledge of nature, history, other languages, and literature. They added something to what his parents had taught him of hygiene and current events. By the groups created within schoolroom, school building, laboratory, or library he was induced, or, if necessary, forced, to learn and to practice new forms of social behavior. Also he soon adapted himself to the various social groupings growing around the fringes of his schools, his home, and his neighborhood.

Growth after school. Presently he went to work — partly voluntarily, partly under compulsion. Perhaps he belonged to that minority who find opportunity to be trained for their work in vocational schools. But in his vocational school or in the pursuit of his vocation itself, he steadily acquired new appreciations and powers — primarily vocational, but secondarily physical, social, and cultural. As he matured, new instincts asserted themselves — sex, vocational ambition, religiousness, honor, desire for family — and these, oriented and molded by his environment in and out of schools, eventually gave final shape to his personal character and his place among men.

Any candid and detailed biography or autobiography is a picture of the processes suggested above. In *The Education of Henry Adams* one of the strong and sensitive men of the last generation has told such a story with much literary, and some psychological, power. Perhaps educators should often read many kinds of biography in order to see their own contribution in true perspective — something that is hardly practicable when the eyes rest on school surroundings exclusively.

It is from study of this kind that we can best analyze, classify, and eventually evaluate the desirable and practicable objectives of school education. In any proper sociological sense of the term, education derives from many sources besides schools. Schools are the primary agencies of education only in certain limited respects. The vernacular speech, the "small group" morals, the vocational powers, as well as a large proportion of the cultural tastes and interests of our fellow men and women were chiefly acquired from non-school sources. Schools have obviously been the primary agencies in giving powers of reading, writing, number, and in contributing some data of science, history, and art. How far the active interests of a typical man or woman of forty

in literature, civic affairs, contemporary events, and recreation are traceable more than incidentally to what schools have done must finally be solved by educational studies more detailed and far-reaching than any we yet possess.

EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

The first and fundamental groupings of educational objectives that arise easily from a survey of the composite qualities of "efficient" adults are, as implied above, the four classes, physical, vocational, cultural, and social. These classes are not rigid or altogether mutually exclusive, but for the present they will serve many useful purposes in thought and communication, provided we do not waste time in niceties of distinction or extent. The facts of physical and of vocational education, both as to results seen in adults and as to methods of education witnessed during childhood and youth, are fairly patent. The word "culture" is itself so ambiguous that difficulties can easily arise in trying to conceive the essentials of cultural education. But it is highly serviceable now to interpret culture (as one major objective of school education) chiefly in its non-utilitarian and largely personal aspects — as having little connection with vocation, health, or civic activities.

The "social qualities" of a man express themselves in his relationships to his fellow and to postulated supernatural beings. Each adult is a member of scores, rising to hundreds, of social groups. He is born into some, forced into others, and voluntarily joins still others. These social groups may be classified conveniently according to their most obvious social functions. In relation to his family, the efficient man is a "good" son, brother, husband, father. Among those with whom he works vocationally he is, according to circumstance, a "good" servant, employee, foreman, companion, chum, mixer, sport, and, perhaps, gentleman. As

a community member he is characterized as public-spirited, progressive, safe, law-abiding, generous, open-handed. In relation to municipality and state he will be an upholder of the laws, a conservator (believing in conservation of social goods), a sound voter, a willing taxpayer, a good party man, a good worker in giving unpaid service, a "true" reformer, a "radical" in his disposition to correct vested evils. Toward his country he will be a patriot, a good soldier in time of danger, a helpful counselor, a liberal for progress. Since no nation can live unto itself alone, the socially efficient man reflects also certain sentiments, knowledge, and determinations in spheres of international action. He favors peace, but also justice and the "square deal," as between nation and nation. He dislikes race prejudices and fights their promptings in himself. Finally, as a member of a society that includes, by hypothesis, invisible divinities and malevolent beings, he gives to God reverence, the sacrifice of worship, and conformity to divine will as he believes it revealed to him.

STANDARD OF SOCIAL WORTH

Any type or species of education that is directed primarily toward improving one or many of the social relationships is social education. History abounds in examples of educational efforts to make youth or adults better sons, fathers, servants, employers, mixers, community members, patriots, worshipers. Incidentally these efforts may enhance wealth, vocational proficiency, or personal culture; but that is not their primary justification. All such efforts presuppose standards of group "excellence" — as fixed by custom, even if not always held consciously. Any one of us can easily give expression to conceptions as to what constitutes a "good" family, vocational grouping (partners, employees and employers, or corporation), community, municipality, state, nation, world, party, church, or social company.

Social virtues. There are certain "virtues" that appear in more or less specialized forms in various social groups. Truthfulness is apparently a relatively essential virtue in all group life; so also is toleration designed to unify for some purpose individuals largely unlike and strange to each other. The word "coöperation" may be applied to virtues that seem to possess some common characteristic but which certainly vary in such groups as the family, the nation, and industrial organizations. Property honesty is held as a virtue wherever it is important for the group to increase or conserve individual possessions, especially of a material character. Only in some group relationships, such as those of husband and wife, employees and employers, and a governing group toward individual subjects, does "justice" become an important virtue. In other special connections mercy, piety, chastity, temperance, and the like assume importance as social virtues. Loyalty, fidelity, courage, kindness, are of many very distinctive species, according to the character of the social groups in which they are developed and prized.

Experience proves that individuals are often more or less in conflict with the requirements of their social groups. Constant friction results. The individual tries to escape the group or to lessen its control over his action. Everywhere about us we see children rebelling against parental control, party members "breaking" with their party, men leaving the church, wives divorcing their husbands, employees striking, partnerships dissolving, traitors and anarchists fighting governments, robbers pillaging the community. Hence, as respects individuals we get dissent, untruthfulness, revolt, rebellion, delinquency, sin, crime, disloyalty, and the like.

Social coercion. Nor is it the individual who is always in the wrong — if we use the words "right" and "wrong"

to mean the conduct which tends respectively to make or break the well-being of the greatest number in the "long run." It is easily possible for the group unduly to coerce the individual, to lay too heavy a burden on him, to cut off possibilities for his personality — either physically, mentally, socially, or vocationally. At times parents expect too much from children, the employer exploits the employee, the nation unnecessarily sacrifices the soldier, the local community browbeats the conscientious member. Art in all its forms — but especially in drama, story, and song — rehearses endless tales of revolt. Perhaps this is because under normal conditions a heavy burden of proof lies on the individual in justifying his dissent, self-determination, or revolt.

Of more interest to modern societies at least are the competitive efforts of various groups for the contributions that a man can make to the collective success of each group. The time, energy, and devotion that an individual can give to various groups are obviously limited; and many of his groups are often in potential, if not actual, conflict for what he can give. A man's family has prior claims on a large part of his economically productive effort, his personal devotion, his time. He may easily so give of these that he is niggardly to political party, church, the community, and the state. Similarly a man may easily so center his efforts in his business, or his "fellowship societies" as to neglect his family. Through taxation and conscription the state may assert its paramount claims in the interest of public safety; but it sometimes does so to a degree that deprives other groups of their just dues.

Competition for ascendancy. But of still greater moment is the never ending struggle of social groups for ascendancy. Nation is in competition with nation, church with church, party with party, industrial group with industrial group. Also state is in competition with church, sociability groups

with vocational groups, municipalities with states. Often, perhaps, these competitions are wholesome rivalries; but not infrequently they become tempestuously destructive or invisibly disintegrating. A volume could easily be written on the topic "The Struggle for Existence" as this prevails between and among social groups.

Education, of course, can only work with and through individuals. In fact, group action of each and every sort finally reduces to its prime elements in individual human beings who must successively take up and use the "social inheritance" of each group. Professor Ross's classic book, *Social Control*, traces, with a wealth of illustrative detail, the numberless and ever-active ways in which social groups seize upon and shape the oncoming generations of individuals to their group needs.

Social education can, as before noted, be well subdivided according to the social relationships it is designed to produce or modify, into three major species — moral, civic, and religious. Under even the more exceptional conditions schools (leaving aside the adjuncts of residence and recreation in boarding schools) are only secondary and residual agencies of moral education; but the home, neighborhood, and church may prove so inadequate in civic education that here the school may yet have to assume certain primary responsibilities. For the present schools do or do not enter the domain of religious education, largely according as they are "non-public" or "public" — that is, state-directed.

THE MEANING OF CIVIC EDUCATION

What is meant by civic education? Can we profitably assemble its objectives under citizenship?

Citizenship, as the term is loosely used, is effected through, or affected by, all forms of education, in school and out. This is so because the word "citizenship" has come to mean

not merely the exercise of civic or even, in a more limited sense, political functions but also the possession of basic qualities which condition in large measure the exercise of those qualities.

Indirect factors of citizenship. For example, a man's success in his vocation or his potential vocational proficiency are not in any ordinary sense a part of his citizenship. It is clear, however, that what he will be able to do as a citizen, through his virtues as a "follower," or by those of leadership, will be largely conditioned by his vocational appreciations and powers.

The same applies in the field of physical health. Health and citizenship in the ordinary sense are things far apart. Nevertheless it can well be held that the man who is physically unfit is thereby precluded in large measure from the exercise of civic responsibilities and functions that are easily possible to the physically well man.

Similar considerations apply to those areas of social life involving what for the sociologist are the "small group" relationships. Education for citizenship normally would not include education for family membership. It is certain, however, that the man whose family membership is open to serious social criticism is thereby impaired as to his abilities to exercise civic functions.

The words "citizen" and "citizenship" may, therefore, be probably too inclusive, too confused with varied connotations, to be profitably employed as embracing only the proper objectives of civic education. We must wait and see whether popular usage will have its way here; we may be forced to admit that all good education contributes to the making of the approvable "citizen" — it is all good "Americanism," perhaps. But we need not thus extend the useful words "civic education."

SOME FURTHER PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION

It is necessary to recognize that there are many kinds of education, because there are many kinds of results to be achieved through education. Schools teach handwriting, dancing, and a foreign language toward very unlike ends. The methods employed also differ greatly. Similarly such more generalized forms of education as physical and vocational must differ fundamentally not only in practical purpose but in essential methods as well.

Unfortunately these distinctions are not willingly accepted in the present state of educational discussion. Confusion also arises from present tendencies everywhere to "stretch" the values of education. It is claimed that athletics are valuable means of education for citizenship; that the study of mathematics makes a "clear-thinking citizen"; that music should be studied as a means of civic education.

Various purposes of education. For the sake of practical efficiency in their work educators must learn to consider separately the various specific purposes that, at any given age, should control at least all direct and purposive education. In no other way can efficient means and methods be devised. In all other affairs of civilized life we recognize that *one* (and almost always only one) primary purpose should determine and control a given course of action. A factory or any given part of it is erected to produce a specified product. There may indeed be many by-products, just as there may be in education. A child being taught handwriting may be getting as by-products some physical and moral training in the process; but the essential reasons for painstaking drill in handwriting are not to be found in any aspect of either physical or moral education.

Let us therefore recognize at the outset the special province of civic education. Because of its indeterminateness let us

use the term "citizenship" as little as practicable, and then only in the limited sense heretofore specified.

First, civic education does not include training in reading, spelling, handwriting, or simple arithmetic, or in other fundamental processes such as drawing, the reading of a foreign language, or forms of laboratory manipulation. It includes none of the primary forms of physical or vocational education. Finally, it excludes many forms of cultural education where the controlling purpose is to establish enduring interests of an æsthetic or intellectual nature toward the enrichment of the individual life.

OBJECTIVES OF CIVIC EDUCATION

The special objectives of civic education, then, have to do largely with political and other "large group" membership, including compliance with laws of state, municipality, etc. These may be classified as follows:

a. The promotion of the appreciations, ideals, attitudes, and minor amounts of understanding necessary to procure conformity to legal and other directions and restraints, such conformity being always measured in terms of specific forms of social activity, such as honesty in property relationships, obedience to traffic laws, etc.

b. Promotion of the kinds and degrees of devotion to country, city, town, and other political groupings as collective social entities with a view to insuring the welfare of the commonwealth and the community. One species of these types of devotion can well be called patriotism, but there are others which can easily be distinguished.

c. Training in dispositions and abilities to participate actively in parties, volunteer service, and other activities of a positive nature designed to promote the public welfare.

d. Training in dispositions to advance the state directly

by good service in family, vocational, religious, and other non-political social groupings.

Studies of adults. The actual objectives of civic education under the above heads will often best be understood by social science teachers through studies of adults now composing any particular type of society. The methods of such study, as discussed more at length elsewhere, may be called "case group methods." The kinds of groups that may well be studied by educators will be variable. For some purposes it may seem well to take regional groups, for others occupational, and for still others racial groups. From another standpoint groupings might be made on the basis of culture, sex, or age and will further subdivide on the basis of combinations of two or more of the foregoing qualifying conditions. The following are typical of the questions that suggest studies of this kind.

a. Rating citizens on the basis of their civic qualities in five groups as excellent, superior, average, inferior, and poor and for the present assuming the application of the same standards to all groups, what are the proportions of citizens of each rank or grade in the city of A?

b. What proportions respectively among 1000 women factory workers in that city?

c. What proportions respectively among men of at least high school education now in business?

d. What proportions respectively among 100 negro manual workers of ages 30-50 in the given area?

The foregoing analysis presupposes a composite estimate of civic qualities. Many kinds of refinements are possible. For example, the various groups could be rated purely with regard to their compliance with the laws of the commonwealth or nation; or with reference to their activity in party politics; or with reference to their disposition to initiate civic reform movements.

Variable civic potentialities. It is evident, however, that such ratings of citizens will be limited in usefulness because they presuppose uniform potential civic powers. Society has a right to expect that 100 men who have had the advantages of the native abilities and environments that enable them to graduate from college shall be held for very different amounts and kinds of civic virtue from those who have had no such advantages. Consequently a still more complete system of evaluating citizenship would suggest questions like the following:

a. In terms of the standards of civic worth deemed appropriate by a competent jury for men who are college graduates, who are successful in business, and who are from 30 to 50 years of age, what are the relative proportions of men of each civic grade found in 100 college graduates of this description in the city of B?

b. In terms of civic standards appropriate to unmarried, negro manual workers in Northern cities of from 25 to 40 years of age, what are the proportions of good citizens, as judged only with reference to compliance with laws, found among 100 negroes chosen at random in the city of C?

Ultimately for studies of this character we must derive not only the qualities of civic worth that shall be sought through school education but standards of reasonable expectancy of civic virtues for different social classes.

Such analysis may reveal, for example, that negro children of less than average intelligence in our public schools should, between the ages of 12 and 15, be trained in compliance with laws, given ideals of good conforming citizenship, and given considerable drill in the most simple of economic principles.

On the other hand in a junior high school offering a considerable range of electives in social science subjects, the kinds of civic instruction that would be provided and recom-

mended for those brighter and better circumstanced individuals who will very probably go through high school and into college and thence into the higher vocations, might well include training in "reasoning about" a large number of debatable problems in social sciences, as well as a very considerable experience of the kind of leadership that scouting and community service work provide.

JUSTIFICATION OF CIVIC EDUCATION

Why, to what extent, and toward what specific goals or objectives does modern society, and conspicuously that of America, need more and better civic education? Sooner or later we must be able to give reasonably scientific answers to this question.

Our popular faiths here are important. They serve as Pole Star ideals of orientation at least, even if they give no idea of distances or character of courses. Let us review some of them:

Our state, its governmental institutions, and our individual relations to these rest on constitutions, representative government, general suffrage, and ideals of democracy. In all respects these tend to exalt the place and importance of the individual, which means more specifically all kinds of individuals — good and bad, informed and uninformed, far-sighted or short-sighted, "little group" minded or "big group" minded. More than under other political systems the average man in America is able to help the welfare of his fellows throughout the state according to the degree to which he is "able-minded" and rightly predisposed.

Hence one need of more and better civic education, even than that which gave us the boys of '76, of 1861, and of 1917. Good citizens, in some cases very good citizens, can still be made when the school only adds literacy and a slight knowledge of American history and geography to the moral

and civic virtues learned from the home, the church, neighborhood associations, shop and farm work, and apprenticeship participation in politics. But quite apart from other considerations, it is desirable, as in the case of hygiene, that we reduce mortality and morbidity rates. We should, and through proper education we probably can, reduce the proportions, at any level, of Grades C and D citizens and increase the proportions of Grades A and B citizens. We can do this not so much, perhaps, by following the methods of extra-school civic education, as in definitely supplementing with specific new objectives.

THE GENERAL NEED OF CIVIC EDUCATION

How would the sociologist determine the needs of civic education at any time and in any given society?

He would first define what is meant by the civic virtues as these show themselves in the behavior of adults. Any one can readily enumerate scores of these virtues by name. It is hard, of course, to avoid the use of excessively abstract words in describing them, and it is almost impossible for even the sociologist as yet to indicate their relative importance in any quantitative way.

It helps here to classify some civic virtues as "virtues of conformity" and others as virtues of initiative. Obeying the laws, conforming to the ordinary requirements of the social order, and accepting gracefully the conscriptive requirements of society — to attend school, serve in the army, serve on juries, pay taxes — are among the conformist virtues. But forcing others to obey the laws, forming parties to effect particular reforms, and scrutinizing the acts of officials are among the virtues of initiative.

We often need still more special definitions. What is meant by "good" political party membership, and what is the importance of various forms of party behavior? What

is the relative importance in good citizenship of strict compliance with the laws bearing on corrupt politics and those governing automobile traffic?

Such definitions should clearly indicate the relations that are assumed to exist between the specific civic virtues and the basic qualities (e.g., of health, vocational proficiency, general education, personal morality, etc.) which are supposed to condition them.

Civic shortages. Next the sociologist would study some fairly distinctive social group in order to ascertain the most conspicuous "shortages" of civic virtues, the correction of which in the oncoming generation could be made the purpose of at least part of some immediately practicable programs of civic education. Some of these groups are referred to on page 109.

The analogies here to sound schemes of physical education are many. Certainly the various specific objectives of such a scheme should be based upon ascertained deficiencies in the health or physique of known groups of people. For example, if it is found that in certain areas farmers in large numbers suffer much ill-health traceable to dietetic ignorance, then one specific objective of instruction in hygiene for the next generation is at once suggested. If the adult workers in certain vocations suffer malformations that could have been prevented by earlier specific physical training, then another objective is defined.

Sociologists have already made large progress in diagnosing social deficiencies; but educators have as yet made practically no use of that knowledge in defining objectives of school procedures to counteract these. This is no less true in civic education than in the fields of the modern languages, vocational education, and instruction in the sciences.

SOCIETY'S NEED OF CIVIC EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

What are the evidences of the need for civic education in schools?

To discover these needs it is desirable that we first proceed to evaluate civic education of non-school agencies such as family, church, neighborhood environment, party, and vocation. In all of these cases we are dealing principally with what Cooley calls primary groups. These agencies are very effective for particular forms of moral education. They cultivate the soil out of which may be expected to spring some "large group" virtues. But modern social organization makes increasing demands for the civic virtues of political and other large groups which these primary associations do not adequately meet.

Criminality as a measure. The general prevalence of crime is sometimes urged as a reason for civic education through schools. Ordinarily, however, pleas put on this basis overlook certain social facts. On the one hand criminal classes are recruited very largely from family and other small groups that are themselves socially deficient. On the other hand criminal classes show an abnormal proportion of mental subnormality. More and better education could undoubtedly reduce the proportion of criminals, but to be effective it would have to be specialized education at least for all ages upwards of 10 or 11. It will have to be specialized in the first place to offset the disadvantages of home environment. In the second place it will have to be specialized in order to make the most of deficient mental powers.

But the real needs of civic education must be considered first of all with respect to the 70 to 90 per cent of adult men and women of the country today who already compose a body of moderately good but not sufficiently good citizens.

The needs of civic education are sometimes derived from study of contemporary politics. It requires no very compe-

tent powers of observation to see in contemporary politics much of inefficiency, indifference, and even corruption. So far, however, no satisfactory evidence has been adduced to show that persons who have received the smallest amounts of civic education now offered are, relatively to their abilities and opportunities, inferior in civic virtues to those who have received large amounts of such education. It is not certain, for example, that the college graduates of America, having in view their superior native abilities and the excellent environment in which they were reared, are proportionately better in civic virtues than less fortunate citizens in other classes.

Growing complexity of social life. Much more satisfactory are the arguments growing out of the increasing complexity of social life on the one hand, and increasing needs for democracy on the other. Our modern economic life has become enormously specialized, and the component community and other groups in our society are interdependent in degrees that did not exist formerly. But social control must extend over the larger groups and the functions of government are obviously becoming more complex. It is therefore a fair inference that society must find in all, or at least in some of its members, powers of civic understanding and action far surpassing those formerly called for.

Another set of valid arguments can be built upon modern conceptions of social economics. Our ancestors could, largely because they must, tolerate high mortality and morbidity rates as well as much poverty and general social deficiency. One large goal of modern society is the lessening of these various sources of personal unhappiness. We are striving steadily to lessen the rate of disease and to prevent thriftlessness and low efficiency generally.

For exactly the same reasons modern social economics aims to lower the ratios of lawless, vicious, and corrupt in

all social groups. Our forefathers could tolerate a certain amount of venality in politics, perhaps because they were indifferent or perhaps because they were powerless to prevent it. We have set ourselves higher standards, and civic education becomes one of the means of achieving them.

DIFFERENTIATIONS OF THE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF CIVIC EDUCATION

As stated earlier, by "objectives" is here meant something more than aims, purposes, or intentions. Rather the term means the "goals" to be realized, the achievements and attainments that are definitely expected. Aims may be qualitative without being quantitative — that is, they may designate direction without distance: The Pole Star is often an "orienting" ideal or aim for mariners, but it is never a goal. Lighthouses are often goals or stations, partly to steer by, but partly also to pass.

The objectives of civic education, like those of many other forms of education, can profitably be divided into two classes or orders — the developmental (beta) and the projective (alpha). The results in adult life of the pursuit of developmental objectives can hardly be tested, at least by any methods now known. But the results of the pursuit of projective objectives ought to be within the powers of sociological science to determine.

The derivation of objectives of civic education can best be made on the same basis as that previously suggested for the study of the needs of such education — the "case group" method. Certainly all teachers can profitably undertake the study of objectives for specific case groups. For example:

Case Group MN. In certain New England cities large numbers of girls (from 16 to 22) and smaller numbers of women (unmarried from 23 to 40) are employed in textile

mills. Most of these are "American born of foreign parents." We can assume that 60 per cent of them have more than a sixth-grade and less than a tenth-grade education; 15 per cent have tenth-grade education or more, and 25 per cent (some foreign born) less than a sixth-grade education.

Most of these workers live fairly moral, but rather dingy, home lives. They are good church members. For diversion they depend heavily upon the photo-drama, considerably upon commercialized dances, much upon street visiting, only slightly upon home associations, and hardly at all upon coöperative activities of an amateur character. They read freely afternoon newspapers, and 40 per cent patronize freely the fiction of the public library. Almost none read articles or books on civic affairs.

Some are members of unions, but take little interest except in times of crisis. They are highly specialized in their work, earning fairly good wages but having little to anticipate of economic advancement. Some are careful savers, but by ordinary standards most of them are extravagant spenders.

Their political interests are meager and essentially conventional — that is, they leave to others all activities preliminary to voting, and in voting follow behests of leaders heard or read about. They know very little indeed about problems of contemporary politics. They cherish many ancient prejudices.

Their extra-school education — home, church, neighborhood, shop — has made them fairly good citizens as regards observance of laws and socially approved conventions. Their civic initiative is practically nil.

The rising generation. Growing up in these cities are today thousands of girls who will follow vocationally in the footsteps of their elders of the above case group. On the average, their parents have had slightly more contact with

American institutions and they themselves may be expected to average about one grade more of schooling, besides 140 hours of continuation schooling between ages 14 and 16.

The problem is set us of providing for the newer generation more effective civic education than that had by the elders. For the present we shall consider possibilities in connection with all those who attend seventh and eighth grades but who will not go farther (except for 140 or 280 hours part-time school attendance the possibilities of which for civic education are still uncertain).

Assume further that in the seventh and eighth grades one fourth of all available school time (or a total of 720 hours within and without the school) is available for civic education, to include all that is given of history. Assume that in the first six grades civic education remains substantially as at present — developmental readings, projects, and discipline, with about 100 hours systematic American history and 100 hours social geography in Grades 5 and 6.

By such sociological analysis we can bring ourselves to the place where the making of constructive proposals becomes profitable. In later chapters some methods for such work are suggested.

CIVIC EDUCATION AND THE TEACHER OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Questions like the following will be of the utmost importance during the next few years to teachers of social sciences:

- a. Have we now sociologically valid bases for proposals for civic education?
- b. Does sociology itself suggest the means of providing such bases?
- c. From what starting points shall we move in search for them?

The following answers for the time being seem valid:

- a. All contemporary proposals for civic education are

based upon faith rather than upon assured knowledge. The actual (but not the nominal) foundations for the teaching of American history have been cultural rather than civic. It is by no means certain that such subjects as civil government, community civics, and the like as now taught are necessarily functional in civic values. We have very strong faith that scouting and good boys' club work are so functional, but we are certainly far from possessing any valid knowledge to that effect, taking account of the selective personalities with whom these systems, based upon volunteer information membership, deal.

b. Sources of programs. It ought to be entirely practicable to obtain sociologically valid bases for programs of civic education. Some methods for such research are indicated elsewhere. Let it be repeated that the most effective single method certainly is to proceed from an analysis of the most conspicuous civic defects found now among adults, to elaboration of concrete proposals for the prevention of such defects in the next generation.

c. This method would at least give us certain criteria which are now wanting. For example, we can think in terms of conformist virtues of citizenship and especially those limited to compliance with laws regarding property. Analysis of various distinguishable groups of citizens will show full or only partial compliance with such laws, and the degree to which it is found will vary from group to group, by economic levels, or otherwise.

d. From this starting point, then, we can propose particular educational procedures designed to influence the next generation of citizens in these particular respects.

e. Similarly it should prove practicable to study various groups as to the standards and kinds of group participation which their individual members show and to discover their prevailing interests in the various forms of approved social

behavior entering into citizenship. Needs of civic education to be met are thus revealed, after which will naturally follow proposals for ways and means for meeting these needs.

f. Social science teachers, as well as school authorities responsible for the formulation of courses for civic education, will be constantly under temptation to teach the formal "science" of the subject, forgetting that the final test of the efficacy of their work is civic behavior, not possession of civic knowledge. The rich content of such books as Ashley's *The New Civics* is very comparable to the rich content of some modern texts in geography, American history, arithmetic, or physics. But all the statements of facts and interpretations thus assembled and organized may or may not be important from the standpoint of a program of civic education. The book, like a good cyclopedia, will provide an abundance of reference materials for topical work; but it is doubtful if it should be studied textually.

THE PROVINCE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHER

Teachers of the social sciences are not now professionally trained even to the extent that high school teachers of foreign languages, English language, chemistry, mathematics, and home economics can be called professionally trained. In many cases teachers of the history studies are being given that work.

In the meantime astonishing numbers of students are studying the social sciences in colleges. Very probably from these will be drawn the social science teachers of the early future. They will be well informed in economics and sociology, but at first, as has been the case with college graduates who have majored in natural science or English literature, they may be expected to teach over the heads of their learners. Nevertheless, from these sources only will at first come teachers of civic education.

What will prove desirable limits to their activities? Shall they also teach the various branches of history? Shall they be expected to direct those highly educative social activities, such as civic service projects, self-government projects, neighborhood visitation, etc., which properly should supplement, if not precede, formal instruction?

Departmental organization. The problem obviously presents as many difficulties as that of physical education. Clearly the entire field of civic education — its developmental and behavioristic aspects as well as its instructional and training aspects — should in any school system be coordinated under one specialist, at least so far as the needs of children from 12 to 18 years of age are concerned. There are, nevertheless, great difficulties to be encountered in trying to combine under one person responsibilities for systematic instruction in history and economics as well as supervision of the socializing aspects of school discipline.

The eventual solution in large schools, it is probable, will be found here, as in the case of physical education, through the coordinating authority and knowledge of a responsible supervisor for the entire field of civic education, in junior and senior high schools and perhaps vocational and part-time schools, operating through specialists teaching one or more of the subjects or guiding the socializing activities denoted by such terms as service projects, social science readings, salient American history, community civics, economics, study of peoples, political problems, and the rest.

CHAPTER THREE

SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS: MISCELLANEOUS

TO RURAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

LET us assume the case of a young woman, teaching her first year in a rural one-room elementary school having twenty-five pupils, the first seven grades being represented. She graduated from an ordinary type of high school, and she has had two years of normal school training. As she looks back, her general and professional education seem to have been rather congested. She seems not to have received much of the specific appreciations and powers apparently needed to meet her present needs in giving civic education. In diagnosis of her problems, and for advisory purposes, the following considerations are addressed to her:

The teacher's work. "As a conscientious teacher you are still seriously disconcerted by conflicting ideas as to what your work actually is or should be. Memories of your own elementary school life revolve around lessons in arithmetic, spelling, geography, and American history, with incidental hygiene, nature study, music, and cardboard work. You recall much rather futile drill in oral reading and composition writing. Your high school studies were even more stereotyped, but from them you derived quite extraneous satisfactions, because you had a good mind and could easily outdistance your competitors. Your two years of normal school work have resulted in confused recollections of very lively and pleasant social experiences, demands for classroom results that you could never more than partially meet, and an intellectual swallowing of vastly more materials than you felt you could properly assimilate. You still have an uneasy feeling that, whilst you have been trained in some few noteworthy respects, and instructed somewhat super-

cially, perhaps, in endless reaches of knowledge and ideals, you are still very imperfectly educated — which, of course, if you knew it, raises an old question that even the philosophers can only answer by expressions of opinion couched in vague and by no means unequivocal terms.

“But from many sources you have acquired convictions, still held largely as mixtures of beliefs and aspirations, that somehow the ‘new’ education for which you, among others, are to be in part responsible, must be vastly better than, and different from, the ‘old.’ The war, we have been often told, clearly demonstrated our national needs of civic education and of better physical education. It did not need the war to prove to many of us that our rural schools were falling far short of meeting the needs of our time.

Modern theories. “Back of all this, however, it has been incessantly borne in upon you that in the past our schools have taught ‘subjects’ too much and children too little; and that the teacher was too often the slave of the textbook instead of its competent master. Throughout your period of professional training you responded with much sympathetic interest, although often with cloudy understanding, to the pedagogic ideals of utilizing ‘activities’ in teaching, of adapting your instruction to the ‘life’ or life’s interests of the pupils, and of using ‘projects’ as valuable means of self-expression, and the like.

“Now, in possession of your own school at last, you are mystified. The rather uninspiring county ‘course of study’ inherited by you, with registers and other paraphernalia, from previous teachers, still seems to lean heavily on the teaching of spelling, arithmetic, geography, and the like. It says little about physical education beyond some prescribed lessons in hygiene, and makes no mention of civics until the seventh grade. You learn that there has been complaint of former teachers on account of their failures sufficiently

to advance or perfect their pupils in arithmetic, handwriting, and spelling. There remain grievances also with regard to discipline. Some of the pupils were allowed to be disorderly and abusive.

"The situation confronting you is very like that faced by tens of thousands of young teachers each year for at least the last quarter of a century. Of these tens of thousands many — a majority, it is to be feared — soon allowed themselves to be bound tight to the wheel of the day's needs — the traditional school routine. They gave most of the energy that they had left after keeping their restless pupils in moderate and always precarious order, to the formal teaching of the formal subjects. They concluded that these were after all the staples, compared with which all the other things hinted at in normal school lectures are luxuries. For schoolroom procedure and methods of teaching they found themselves harking back to their own childhood experiences more frequently even than to their normal school training classes.

"Like manual workers whose daily drudgery leaves them neither time nor energy to think, these teachers gradually lose hold on their aspirations and come to believe the proposals of the 'new' education impracticable under present working conditions. They fall back upon the substantial and comforting guidance of textbook study and daily drill. They are momentarily thrilled anew by educational idealism at institutes and association meetings but they fail of the necessary resolution and inventiveness to carry their re-kindled ideals into practice.

Gifted teachers. "At the opposite pole are the half-dozen gifted and inventive spirits that any ten thousand of human beings will produce. These teachers are unquestionably greatly favored by some kind of extraordinary inheritance — frequently a bundle of splendid qualities born into the very fiber of their being. They have exceptional courage, often

exceptional energy. They are full of social sympathies and are good mixers. Above all they have 'enterprise.' Sometimes, in an excess of zeal, they are mercurial, running always after new ideals, and not very stable in discharging accepted responsibilities. But at their best they find ways of doing well the day's work, and also of keeping their aspirations fresh, whilst throwing themselves into new and promising enterprises for the good of the school or the community.

"Perhaps we shall have to confess, sadly, that people of the latter type are 'born' — and born but seldom. Like the great explorers, they may discover lands that others of more common clay can inhabit, and they break the paths which the average of humanity can readily tread. But occupying their lands and following their paths do not endow the rest of us with their energy, inventiveness, social leadership, or love of enterprise — institute lecturers to the contrary notwithstanding.

Average teachers. "Between these two extreme groups are many young teachers who are every year contributing much that is good to American education. They soon learn to distinguish between 'Pole Star' ideals — by which men may steer, but which they can never hope to reach — and 'lighthouse' ideals, which are guiding lights that may be approached, passed, and left behind as new goals come into view. These are the teachers who know that in their immaturity and inexperience they can neither hope at once to 'lead' (or, horrid words, 'reform' or 'uplift') their communities, nor to initiate sweeping changes in curricula and school courses that have been in process of slow evolution for decades, if not centuries. They do not hope to see the fundamental aims of the schools changed overnight, nor the methods of instruction and training revolutionized readily. Nevertheless they are convinced that progress is

taking place and will take place in education as in other fields of human effort, perhaps through rather blind trial-and-success methods for the present.

“These teachers therefore accept with patience the routine of each day’s work, whilst keeping fresh their aspirations and ideals. They are eager to try the new that comes to them on approved authority, and especially desirous of holding fast to that which is good. They are not afraid to be exploratory, even radical, in their private thinking, but they are sanely conservative in action, as befits workers who are yet only slightly beyond apprenticeship stages.

“What can the rural teacher of the type last suggested do in the field of civic education? She cannot hope to develop the powers of the departmental specialist. Most of her energies must be given to the younger children. Here are some suggestions:

1. **The historic subjects.** “She can see clearly what a large part the older school subjects play in education for citizenship. The forefathers were right in thinking of literacy as the very foundation of civic education. They were also right in believing that moderate amounts of arithmetic, English composition, American history, and geography give the ideals of vocational and cultural life to an extent that produces the civic confidence and intellectual tools necessary for further study. The rural teacher should do as much as lies in her power to see that in these subjects attention is focused chiefly on essentials and that these are well taught.

2. “The rural teacher can school herself in the practical realization that the group of pupils whom she daily meets is itself, like the family, an elementary social group, good membership in which is itself one contribution toward good citizenship. Younger rural teachers probably can do little to develop and promote school self-government—for it usually takes very strong and experienced leaders to insure

safe self-government; but it may well be within the powers of enthusiastic beginners to promote some degrees of co-operative participation in government on the part of her most influential pupils.

3. "In all grades, and with comparatively little expenditure of teaching energy, the rural teacher can keep alive, and often very considerably develop, some of the various sentiments, aspirations, and ideals that enter more or less into good adult citizenship. These include especially: appreciations and admirations of the founders of our commonwealths in their various evolutionary stages from colonial or frontier settlements to modern sovereign states; interests in the historic events that have marked salient points in our social evolution; and a moderate amount of knowledge of the trials and difficulties that have been overcome in developing democracy, republican institutions, and our prominent national position in the world of affairs today. The pursuit of these objectives need not severely tax the teacher, since to a large extent they can be achieved by keeping at the disposal of the learners some of the stories, biographies, and other readings that should be found in any rural school library; and in supplementing these with occasional talks, commemoration day celebrations, and the like.

4. "In the upper grades American history will be taught in a systematic way. Here the teacher can use all the influence she possesses over the prescribed course of study to eliminate all the dry and needless details of history and in singling out for full discussion and idealization those phases of our history that are chiefly significant to citizens of today and tomorrow. Within limits the same procedure is possible in the teaching of geography and even literature.

5. "The rural-school teacher can well afford, in the interest of civic education, to give special attention to the keenest minds among her pupils. A large proportion of

the political and other leaders of this country spend their early years in rural schools and are probably to an important degree shaped for subsequent leadership by the environment and independent activities that country life affords. Every rural school teacher has opportunities to inspire these potential leaders with ideals that may become of the greatest importance in orienting their subsequent lives.

6. "On the negative side she should not feel obliged to put herself into competition with specialized or departmental teachers in the junior and senior high schools of villages or cities. Her responsibilities are primarily to the younger children, in any event. The multiplicity of her tasks renders it impossible that she should successfully compete with departmental specialists. Hence the importance of selecting from the entire field of civic education a few essentials (and this applies equally to physical education) and in doing these fairly well in the time left after meeting her primary obligations in the regular school subjects and in maintaining good school order.

7. **Community leadership.** "This is not the place to suggest in detail the part that should be played by the teacher herself as a citizen, independent of her functions as teacher. The tendency of our recent educational literature has been hopelessly Utopian in its ambitions on behalf of rural school teachers. It is repeatedly suggested that these teachers, in spite of their immaturity and inexperience, should play a leading, not to say directing, rôle in rural community affairs. Clearly the utterances of Utopian writers here reflect aspirations rather than practicable proposals. As a rule young doctors, lawyers, engineers, military officers, and the rest do not play prominent parts, certainly not directive rôles, during their years of professional apprenticeship. They are expected, first of all, to do well specific work assigned them; next to fit conformably and without

too much conceit into the social order about them; to take minor rôles of volunteer service willingly; and finally to keep their minds open in order to have the fullest possible experience and balanced judgment when ripened maturity eventually brings them responsibilities of leadership on their own behalf. American women graduating from normal school or college have yet much to learn with respect to participation in urban or rural community life in the United States. The spectacle of their attempting, at the outset of their work, to take prominent part in affairs lying outside their strictly professional field would often be ludicrous were it not rendered pathetic by the oft-repeated exhortations of well-meaning, but not very practical, educational leaders that they thus atone for the deficiency of the other agencies among which they must work. Sinclair Lewis in his novel *Main Street* gives a vivid picture of the 'uplifting' type of young college woman who, in a rural town, lets her aspiring zeal run far ahead of her practical experience or social wisdom. Education has its Carol Kennicotts as well as village reform. Let the young teacher move slowly until she can move securely.

8. "The young teacher must not forget that other agencies besides the school are continually at work, perhaps more in rural communities than elsewhere, toward the making of fairly good, even though not ideal, citizens out of our boys and girls. The men who developed out of Indian-possessed forests the commonwealths of the North Mississippi Valley probably averaged less than 250 days of schooling per man. 'By their works shall they be known.' Our forefathers who gave us this nation were not bad citizens. Most of their sons, grandsons, or great-grandsons in our schools today would not make bad citizens, even if schools kept only three months in the year. But we hope to give them better schools than their fathers had, and to expect

even better results than their fathers produced. That is not an impossible, not even a very difficult, task."

TO TEACHERS IN SMALL HIGH SCHOOLS

Out of 13,951 high schools reporting to the Commissioner of Education in the United States in 1918, 7042 had not to exceed 50 pupils. Seventy-five per cent of all high schools, representing an enrollment of nearly 700,000 pupils, out of a total of 1,735,000 found in all the public high schools of the United States, had each 100 or fewer pupils.

Such high schools receive almost all the rural and village youths who care for secondary education. Little scientific study seems to have gone to the making of curricula for these smaller schools. Only two clearly defined "large" objectives seem to be held in view. (a) Because a few of their ablest and best-enviored pupils will each year go to college or normal school, the "college preparatory" subjects are essentially well taught, as a rule. (b) In many of these schools a "commercial" department is found which appeals to not a few students because the studies are probably less difficult than those of the college preparatory curriculum, and desirable vocational goals are temptingly held forth. A few small "high schools of agriculture" are now found, but as a rule their "vocational coating" or flavor is just sufficient to serve the purpose of "holding pupils in school."

Small high schools have not yet defined schemes of objectives that should constitute a curriculum of genuinely "liberal education" for that majority of their pupils who will neither go to college nor take up stenography as a vocation. (The commercial curricula are usually illusory as vocational preparation for any vocation except stenography.) Great difficulties will obviously be encountered in doing this so long as the requirements of the two curricula just mentioned are standardized as at present. The time

and energy of the small faculty will necessarily be wholly employed in meeting traditional objectives.

Nevertheless, changes will eventually take place. Everywhere there is now very keen interest in three groups of studies for these schools — English literature, general science, and civics or the “social sciences” — that point toward truer realizations of cultural and civic (or, together, liberal) education than have heretofore prevailed. Around these three centers enterprising teachers with clear ideals of what a functioning liberal education is, can build long or short courses — in some cases of “alpha” or “projective” type, in others of the “beta” or “developmental” type — that should prove especially significant to those youths who can spend only from one to three years in high school.

History teachers. These paragraphs are addressed primarily to that teacher whose program includes the usual offerings in history, with perhaps the beginnings of civics or economics. He will naturally be interested in the objectives of civic education and in various possible answers to the questions, “What can be done for the small community?” and especially “What can be done in the small high school?” It is obviously unsatisfactory to make the small high school, either as a whole, or in particular parts, a small and weak imitation of the large urban high school. Teachers in highly departmentalized large high schools can readily undertake enterprises that must be quite beyond the powers of the teacher in a small school to whom is assigned from twenty-five to thirty hours of instruction per week in from three to five subjects.

Suggestions for civic education. The following are submitted as suggestions looking to the most feasible and profitable lines of effort for that teacher in every small high school most interested in civic education:

a. He can study the objectives of civic education in terms

of the adult citizenship now found in the region of the school. Most of the adults there from 30 to 70 years of age are now moderately good citizens. A few are not. Of those who have had at least the equivalent of a full elementary education probably very few are "undesirable citizens" in any ordinary meaning of that term. Probably the majority of the obviously "bad" citizens were either indisposed or unable to profit by any considerable amount of schooling.

As indicated in detail elsewhere in this book, the first business of the educator interested in civic objectives is to forecast the probable citizenship of the children of today in terms of resemblance to, and differences from, that of the adults of today. This is the sociological method — the only scientific method of ascertaining valid objectives for education through schools or by other agencies. The total available means of civic education in the future will unquestionably be a highly differentiated composite of long and short courses — and from these each school will select, first those elements which local conditions suggest as most urgent, and second those courses which the school can best handle.

b. Much the most available means of civic education for the small high school will be found in so-called developmental readings, ranging from biographies and local history to well-written analyses of current economic problems. A stimulating teacher, holding at least weekly conferences of readers, and having at hand a considerable range of materials, ought to experience no great difficulty in keeping a very considerable group of active first or second year pupils keenly interested in these readings and the attendant discussions and debates.

c. The third opportunity lies in the gradual recasting of history studies so as to reduce to the minimum "salient" or strictly formal history and to enlarge the scope of "prob-

lem history." This will not prove easy until a new order of textbooks shall have been written. These, starting with topics of current social interest, will present various problems on which the light of history can be shed to the advantage of civic insights, appreciations, and ideals.

TO TEACHERS IN SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADES IN
URBAN SCHOOLS

A very large proportion of American children between 12 and 14 years of age in villages and cities are still taught under "graded school" conditions; that is, one teacher is responsible for all subjects except manual training and household arts. In a few graded schools departmental teaching is found; and wherever the junior high school plan has been more than nominally carried out, departmental teaching certainly prevails. Very few schools abroad carry undepartmentalized teaching to the extent that America has always done with children over 12 years of age. The prevailing system here is, of course, largely a survival of rural school conditions.

In the typical seventh grade and only to a somewhat lesser extent in eighth grades will be found many pupils whose full-time school attendance will close at 14 or 15 years of age. The abler pupils, and particularly those of favoring environment, will go for two or more years to high school. Their civic future is, in a sense, much more assured than is that of the less capable and less favorably circumstanced pupils who early drop out of school.

Hence teachers in ordinary communities (except select residential suburbs) can well afford to present their work in civics in the seventh and eighth grades on the assumption that *none* of their pupils will enter high school. They should most study the possibilities of those slower boys and girls who are likely to become the rank and file of voters, to

compose the *modal* groups in society in point of earnings, civic interests, standards of living, and cultural attainments.

Undepartmentalized teaching limits seriously the powers of the individual teacher to master the content and teaching methods in particular fields or departments. Very few men or women have the abilities to become good teachers in such varied subjects as English language, arithmetic, geography, American history, English literature, civics, music, drawing, hygiene, and general science in accordance with the standards usually appropriate to pupils 12 to 14 or 15 years of age. Under these conditions a given subject must be adapted no less to the capacities of teachers than to the needs of learners. What is the scope and character of possible civic education in seventh and eighth grades under conditions of undepartmentalized teaching?

The suggestions made to rural elementary school teachers in another section all apply as well to the upper-grade teachers here considered. Certainly their richest opportunities for group civic education lie in the promotion of stimulating "readings" calculated to give civic appreciations, ideals, and insights. Opportunities for valuable work in "service projects" or other projects external to the schools may not be many, but the performance of even a few genuinely civic projects — dramatic or service — may be important.

Graded schools. The peculiar advantage of the graded school over the rural school from the standpoint of the teacher's work is found, of course, in the relative homogeneity of groups of pupils. But the peculiar temptation of this situation is excessively to organize and formalize all subjects of instruction. The evils of this are plainly apparent in the teaching of the only two important subjects of civic education now usually found in upper grades, American history and didactic civics or civil government.

As now organized in textbooks these subjects are badly

congested. The language of presentation is very abstract. Undue systematization or logical organization of content gives to each subject a rigidity of form and angularity of outline not unlike that of the human skeleton. Good intentions of textbook makers to the contrary notwithstanding, their products inevitably show the characteristics of compendiums, reference works, or digests. No important fact is omitted. Concrete descriptions or amplified treatment, such as might lend attractiveness of style or artistry of content, are usually not permitted. The book must omit nothing, yet it must all be compressed within the customary few hundred pages.

All good departmental teachers, of course, use texts merely as adjuncts or even as reference books and guides. But only one grade teacher in a hundred can find the time or resources for such a procedure. These teachers must lean heavily on the text, often leaving it as almost the sole source of inspiration and guidance to the learner. Under these conditions it is little wonder that neither history nor civics proves, usually, an interesting or informing subject of study for any but pupils of extraordinary powers of imagination — the rare kind that can make waters of learning gush even from rocks of dry verbal statements.

Available resources. However, until we can get aids to learning built along lines very different from those of ordinary textbooks, teachers must use such resources as are available. But they can often exercise discretion in their use. Here lie some available opportunities for grade teachers in civic education. If they can come to see what are the things that count most, they can often shape textbook treatment to the ends thus conceived. They have already learned to do so in good language and arithmetic teaching. American history offers rich opportunities for further efforts of this kind.

The authorities are not yet certain whether *all* the objectives of American history should lie in the field of civic education. But teachers in seventh and eighth grades are justified in assuming that the *major* functions of this study should be the establishment of certain kinds of civic ideals, civic attitudes, and civic insights. Toward these ends a large part of the minute data or information found in the typical textbook is probably quite irrelevant. Often, however, the personal characteristics of heroic figures, real or fictitious, as given in tale, anecdote, or poem may be very significant. By shifting emphasis from minutiae dear to the historian's heart, to massive considerations comprehensible by average learners, the teacher can probably do much to make American history a live subject not only culturally but, more important, in producing civic appreciations and attitudes of much significance and functioning worth in later civic behavior. Materials found in books other than texts may sometimes prove more valuable for this purpose than the texts themselves.

American history. Another kind of shifting of emphasis is possible even within areas of the "big" facts of American history — that is, toward the things that have a vital significance to the problems of citizenship today and in the near future. For example, the numberless contests of our ancestors with Indians furnish indeed picturesque materials for study, but such studies are probably quite without civic significance to present and to future generations of citizens. Leave them to the cultural education of the lower grades.

Even slavery, long the most tremendous and portentous source of problems for American voters and statesmen, is now a dead and buried issue. The strenuous struggles it occasioned make important chapters in cultural history, but have little relevancy for the history that is to help in the making of citizens capable of facing the new problems of

our generation. The effective coöperation of whites and blacks in the United States gives us now, it is true, some difficult civic problems; but only the briefest review of the origins of the black race in this country is necessary to give the setting of these problems.

Similar considerations apply to our conflicts with Great Britain. The issues over which these conflicts were waged are now dead. There are no new ones in sight. The real civic problems of America in connection with the British Empire are those of fullest practicable coöperation. Many things in the history of the last hundred years give potent interpretations to right ideals, appreciations, and understandings here.

Elsewhere in this book are given various suggestions as to possible reorganizations of the materials of history as means of civic education. These reorganizations will in all probability eventually be shaped into suitable texts. But in the meantime grade teachers must work with existing "chronological" and compendious texts — compendious in quantity of specific data, if not in pages. Can these teachers construct for themselves certain large objectives out of the plain civic needs of our time, and then use the materials of history, largely to shed light and inspiration on these?

Live problems. Few will dispute that among the most important groups of problems confronting the next generation are the following: the proper regulation and assimilation of immigration; territorial specialization of production; the relative decline of rural peoples; military preparedness; the destructive exploitation of raw resources; and many others of similar quality. Now topics bearing intimately on each of these sets of problems recur constantly in our history studies. It is easy to single them out for special attention. Teachers are not required to be partisans of

particular doctrines in order to do this — in fact, for purposes here under consideration it is better that they be non-partisan and scientific, but much interested in directing the thoughts of their pupils toward all aspects of the questions involved. In the tangled regions of these problems no simple formulæ will save us; wisdom comes only from generous knowledge and appreciation and a wide range of understanding, even if only partially developed.

Coupled with this is the other conception that we can use the cumulative impressions of history study to deepen and expand these things: appreciation and respect for fore-runners, voluntary leaders, and the self-sacrificing ones of past and present; wholesome admiration for ourselves as a people; convictions that safety and progress for a republic are only possible when a large proportion of citizens help to direct and forward the ship of state; and faith in the wisdom of abiding patiently by the will of the majority and of trusting the outcome of tolerant discussion in heated issues. Here lie large possibilities of making history a truly "civic" subject. The historian, solicitous for the "logical integrity" of his subject, will probably object; but he is prone to forget that in the grades most studies are not ends in themselves, but means. Will he tell us in clear and certain language to what memorization of the chronologically arranged data and generalizations of history, as he records it in the ordinary text, leads that is of general educational value?

Similar suggestions apply in the case of civics for the seventh and eighth grades. Let the crowded teacher use the text first of all for "reading" purposes. Let her select a few large topics for special study by individual pupils. Promote ideals and insights in a few areas of major significance and interest. Avoid drill and memorization of details as far as practicable.

TO A SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

It is certainly no easy matter for the administrative officers of a school system, responsible for the organization of courses and employment of teachers, to strike happy mediums amidst the conflicting demands made by educational specialists and other partisans today. In the upper grades and high school nearly all writers on educational subjects are special pleaders and partisans of particular interests. All want their pet subjects made obligatory, since they see them as of transcendent importance. The recent history of various committees appointed to consider the place of history in secondary education abundantly demonstrates this. They have worked out elaborate series of courses, generally with the suggestion that these be made prescribed for the intermediate grades and sometimes even the high schools. The partisans of modern languages have succeeded in having their favorites established as specific requirements for admission to college. Home economics teachers in many cases feel very keenly that all girls should be required to take home economics. It is a matter of history how required algebra and plane geometry have held their places in high schools. We are now confronted with new demands. Civic education, physical education, and vocational guidance, to say nothing of vocational training, are not only urged for inclusion in high school curricula, but in each case partisans are anxious to impose them as requirements on all pupils. The superintendents must find the optimum resultants of these various demands.

New demands. Consider here the new demands for civic education. From the standpoint of the needs of our country and the local community it is not difficult to make out a case for the need of more and better civic education. We are, of course, as yet sadly in need of the sociological analysis which will enable us not merely to trace the existence of

prevailing defects of citizenship, but, to an extent that has not yet been done, locate them in particular classes and even in individuals within classes. In current discussion we are apt to overlook the fact that, just as a majority of adult human beings are reasonably healthy, so in all societies a majority of adults are also reasonably moral and of good civic culture.

The fundamental responsibilities of the superintendent of schools for civic education lie, first, in the development of adequate guiding courses for teachers, and in the second place in bringing to bear all legitimate pressure for the achievement of the objectives established in the courses. The following are submitted as considerations of moment to superintendents at the present stage in the evolution in civic education:

1. All school education may be regarded as of some civic consequence. Educational mystics are fond, however, of deluding themselves and others with the idea that panaceas may be found either in historic types of school material or in proposed new types. Sound sociological analysis of the numberless qualities that are combined in the kinds of men and women whom we agree to call good citizens will show that many probably valuable civic qualities are the indirect outgrowths or by-products of forms of education that have had other ends than civic education as their primary objectives. Common sense will tell us that without vocational proficiency a man cannot be a wholly good citizen; but vocational education must not be considered as having its first justification in civic competency. Citizens with chronically poor health or physically undeveloped have poor foundations for the kind of civic competency that the country needs, no matter how good their intentions or motives. Nevertheless, physical education is not to be regarded as primarily designed for civic purposes.

2. The social demand of our time for more direct and more purposive civic education is very strong and without doubt justified by the increasing complexity of our social relationships. But our interest in better civic education need not blind us to the remarkable achievements of the past in America.

3. It is doubtful if any new and important discoveries in the field of civic education will materially change work in the first six grades or with children under 12 years of age. Doubtless considerable improvement of means and methods can be devised in these grades. The discipline of the schools and the use of literature and historic story as a means of promoting ideals and appreciations can be considerably extended. By informal means the teacher can promote somewhat greater insight into neighborhood social relationships than is now achieved.

4. **Future possibilities.** The largest possibilities for the evolution of civic education in the near future are undoubtedly to be found in the grades or schools that contain children from 12 to 16 years of age. Here we have the last full-time school attendance made compulsory by law. Here also will increasingly be found departmental teaching and the use of specially prepared instructors. Throughout this book will be found many references to possible means of providing for better civic education in this area. These may be summarized as follows:

a. Less rather than more space in these grades should be given to formal or didactic American history. This subject now occupies usually from 15 to 20 per cent of the pupil's time for two grades and, as commonly taught from the difficult textbooks in use, is probably without important civic results for large proportions of pupils. At any rate the superintendent should shift upon the history specialist the burden of proving more in detail than has yet been

done the actual functional values toward civic education of the numberless statements of fact that now congest the pages of the typical textbook of American history.

b. All prevailing textbooks in civics that employ primarily the method of "didactic inculcation" should be examined from the standpoint of their probable functioning in the case of at least 90 per cent of the pupils.

c. The very large possibilities of developmental readings should be exploited and every incentive held out to publishing companies to develop this type of material. If experience shows that service and dramatic projects are not too difficult of administration, every incentive should be held out to departmental teachers to make use of these as means.

d. Probably the "problem method" is destined to be found of very great value in civic education, but for the present it must wait upon the development of more adequate problems and of manuals and handbooks for guidance.

5. The junior high school. We have only begun to appreciate the possibilities of the junior high school as a means of realizing the objectives of civic education. The junior high school of the future will almost certainly be characterized by a very great flexibility in curricula, thus making possible a considerable diversity of offerings according to the needs of various case groups or even according to dominant interests found. As suggested elsewhere it will probably prove advisable to develop a group of teachers having primary responsibility for the whole field of civic education, including not only the instructional aspects, but the "activity" aspects as well.

6. What will be the place of scouting in the public schools?
(*a*) It must be recognized that the fundamental virtue in scouting at the present time is its dependence on volunteer service. (*b*) Scouting is at its best always when the members

composing the troop are voluntarily enlisted. Obviously, this and the first condition cannot be realized under public school conditions. (c) It does seem highly desirable to have something analogous to scouting developed under public school auspices. Probably this should take the form of educational organization of volunteer groups, formed sometimes for exploration, sometimes for home service, sometimes for the promotion of physical training or practical arts. Each one of these groups should have the direction of a teacher appreciative of the extent to which the coöperative endeavor thus developed will manifestly serve the known ends of civic education.

7. In framing courses of civic education superintendents should be on guard against too much reliance upon the coöperative aspects of games, sports, and athletics as means. All group play is, of course, greatly productive of social qualities. The easy inference that these qualities naturally expand from the limits of small groups and as between very similar competing social groups is probably erroneous.

8. **History studies.** For the present, as stated above, it can be assumed that American history will remain one of the stable and difficult subjects in the seventh and eighth grades. The writer is personally convinced that American history will, especially in the junior high school, eventually be very much reorganized so as greatly to reduce the strictly chronological portions and greatly to increase the utilization, through the social science subjects, of the materials of American history in shaping the ideals, appreciations, and especially comprehensions, centering in particular social science problems or topics.

But the practical suggestion that might well be urged now is that teachers shall reduce the amount of attention given to the memorization of the formal facts of American history and correspondingly extend the treatment, and

especially that of an interpretive nature, of those topics that have a visible and tangible connection with the political problems of today or tomorrow.

9. The way is now clear to the fuller development of community civics as a live and vital topic in the junior high school. This community civics should center largely in those local and changeable studies of problems that have to do with political action, and should tend to extend the pupil's comprehension of the social life about him. Some excellent little texts are now available in this field. The chief responsibility of superintendents here is the selection of teachers who can themselves organize as junior high school subjects on a strictly modern pedagogical basis the locally accessible materials of community civics — no easy task, even under most favorable conditions.

School government. Most administrators have doubtless considered often the possibilities of school self-government from the standpoint of civic education. They are now usually agreed in this: under the influence of live teachers, or even more under competent principals, school self-government, in any one of its numerous forms, is a very possible thing. But it seems doubtful whether it is an economical or effective means of maintaining schoolroom and school-building order, if that be intended as its sole purpose. In this respect it reminds one very much of the endless attempts that are made by communities at joint or coöperative marketing. The attempts work very well, and seem to pay, for a while, but when interest lags they cease to be profitable.

10. Self-government should, therefore, be regarded as a means of civic education, and therefore as something that should be undertaken from time to time primarily as a sort of joint civic project. Arrangements should be made with due planning whereby the pupils of a room or a school or as a group of individuals should be expected for a certain

period to perform collectively or through representatives certain civic functions, among which might well be the administration of school justice, the establishment of school rules and the maintenance of school order or the orderly conduct of special group functions. For these purposes various kinds of machinery might well be devised, including school city plans, the use of legislative bodies, and the like. None of these should involve too prolonged service, but of course time enough should be given for the execution of the project. From one month to three months might amply suffice, in most cases, for the realization of educational gains to an expected point of "diminishing returns."

11. We may safely assume that to an increasing extent all the subjects of the large American senior high school will tend to be elective, and that pupils will be more intelligently guided in making up programs of study. Hence, until further progress has been made in the study of educational values, it may well be doubted whether it is worth while seriously to consider the actual prescription of any civic or history subject in the regular high school grades.

No reference need be made here to the history subjects which should be offered as electives. Under the general head of civics might well be offered at least three elective subjects that could easily be given from 90 to 180 hours each. The first of these might well be called "Social Problems," or, if the subject must have didactic organization, "Elementary Sociology." The second should be "Civil Government," or "Elementary Political Science" or "Civics"; and the third, "Elementary Economics." In every case the problem method should be developed and applied as fully as possible.

PART TWO

SOCIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF CIVIC EDUCATION

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRODUCTORY CONSIDERATIONS

EACH and every variety of conscious educational procedure has its aims, purposes, or objectives. These, as we find them at any cross-sectioning of societies, are usually crystallized as faiths or customs, with their attendant appreciations, ideals, and half-insights. In some cases (and these bulk large indeed in the history of education) aspirations for change rather than customs give us the principal literature of educational aims.

Social conflicts. As with nearly all other "valuable ends" or "social worths" which are made the objectives of family, guild, or state action, conflicts between "individual good" and the "good of all" (or of the group) are always to be found in education. Parents naturally desire the social advance, the moral uprightness, the religious orthodoxy, and the vocational success of their children. They desire and support educational programs to these ends. The church, the army, the old guild, the state, and perhaps even a class-conscious proletariat or aristocracy desires and supports education that contributes to their respective objectives of control, greatness, or service. Sociologically speaking, "small groups" — the family, village community, vocational group, and sect — tend to be narrow, intense, and often short-sighted, but very articulate, in their educational desires; whilst "large groups" — municipality, federation, political party, province, nation — tend to be diffuse, indeterminate, and inarticulate.

Education now tends to become scientific in aims and methods. Heretofore its immediately basic sciences — psychology and sociology — have been too imperfectly developed to permit this. Hence as a field of practice it has lagged behind manufacturing, transportation, distance com-

munication, agriculture, and medicine in supplanting beliefs and customs by scientific determination of purposes and methods.

The methods of achieving known educational objectives — from training in skill of handwriting to the evoking of desired ideals — are increasingly to be determined and tested by psychology. The discovery of specific *objectives* most worth while is increasingly to be achieved through the help of sociology, to which we must turn for prognostications as to the probable future opportunities for life and service of those whom we seek to educate — service, that is, to themselves and to their fellows. The following are a few samples of the numberless problems requiring consideration in this connection:

1. What is the meaning of educational sociology? Provisional answers can be obtained through analyses suggested in these questions:

a. How does sociology compare with astronomy, chemistry, physics, mathematics, geology, biology, bacteriology, and psychology as to possession of bodies of tested knowledge, laws, means of quantitative description, etc.?

b. How does education compare with medicine, war, agriculture, architecture (as building engineering), mining, manufacturing, distance communication, navigation, electrical work, and worship, as to evolution of extensive systems of practice, effective use of trial-and-error methods, persistence of untested tradition, use of scientific knowledge, disposition of workers to employ science, etc.?

c. How does educational sociology compare as to organization, usefulness, availability of tested materials and future prospects, with: navigational astronomy, agricultural chemistry, engineering physics, mining geology, medical biology, educational architecture, educational psychology, business economics?

d. It is alleged that sociology itself is only a scientific

patchwork; that its methods are chiefly "philosophical" (meaning?) rather than scientific; and that it has few contributions to make to education in any event. What are possibilities?

e. In working in a field of applied science how far is it necessary to be assured of tested knowledge in the related "pure" fields? In practice what examples can we cite of problems in the applied field itself being stated and studied? Illustrations are possible from agriculture, navigation, war, etc.

f. What are the *uses* of the study of: educational psychology, educational economics (or finance), educational medicine (or hygiene), educational history (or history of education)?

g. What are the possible uses of educational sociology in ascertaining: (*a*) the social characteristics (including instincts and effects of environment) of those whom we educate; (*b*) the specific aims which, for a specified group, should be pursued in schools; (*c*) the organization of means and methods of education to serve ascertained specific needs not now met; (*d*) the readjustment of existing means (subjects) and methods so as to meet current needs, or more effectively to meet needs that have always been known?

2. **Subjects of study and research** in educational sociology should have one or more of the following characteristics: (*a*) the evident practicability of applying organized knowledge of individual facts or principles now approved in sociology, anthropology, ethnology, government, politics, criminology, relief, migration, economics, politics, history, etc.; (*b*) the practicability of proceeding from analysis of a supposed educational need to the social conditions now resulting where this need is not met, and evaluating consequent losses to society or to certain individuals in it; (*c*) the practicability of providing improved means and methods of meeting

ascertained needs of individuals or of groups or of society as a whole.

In view of the yet chaotic character of sociological sciences and the dominance of philosophical methods in the study of their larger problems, it is probable that most problems to be studied in educational sociology during the next five years will be derived directly from consideration of current or approaching educational needs. For example:

a. Is it desirable that public resources be used to support the teaching of modern languages in the United States? What needs will be served by such studies? What languages? What kinds of attainment in each — prescribed, or advised, or permitted? for how many?

b. Is it desirable that the public schools enter more extensively upon the teaching of "citizenship"? What is citizenship? What is education (or training) for citizenship? In what respects is present adult citizenship (the product of the teaching of 5 to 30 years ago) bad? in what groups or classes? by what standards? What preparation for citizenship is given by non-school agencies? How can we ascertain for specified groups the efficacy of this? Should school civic education replace or supplement it? Is American history a valuable means of civic education? How do we know? What are the most effective school contributions now made toward citizenship at ages 4-6; 6-12; 12-14; 14-16; 16-18; 18-20; extension, etc.? Do vocational education, physical education, and cultural education make important or distinctive contributions to civic objectives?

c. Is it desirable that provision be made at public expense for vocational education in City B? What are occupational fields now open in City B? What occupational pursuits are followed away from City B by persons reared in that city? How have adults now following vocations in City B been trained therefor? What have been deficiencies of social

training, for specified classes of workers? Are needs increasing or is non-school education becoming less ineffective? If school education is to be given for a specified vocation, what shall be its relations to non-school vocational education? What standards of attainment shall it set? How much shall be attempted at 16-18 or 17-19? How much postponed to later upgrading stages, full-time or part-time?

d. What are useful purposes now served by mathematical studies? What better purposes should control in such studies? What better uses could be made of time required?

3. **Methods** to be used in study of problems of educational sociology are not clearly defined. Wherever accurate description is sought statistical methods are, of course, necessary; but many of the situations to be studied are less in need of exact quantitative statement than of other forms of study. For perspective and for use of remote data historical methods must be used.

But the chief problems of educational sociology center in *social values* — and these are not to be accurately determined as yet by either quantitative or historical methods, because the underlying *social valuations* are still considered by philosophical methods. It is easy to enumerate abstractly such social valuations as: security (of personal life), health, wealth, righteousness, sociability, knowledge, beauty; or life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; or family, vocation, communion with God, Christian fellowship; or “success,” social approval, power, etc. But sociology gives few effective methods of determining the *relative* values of these “goods” or of the extent to which any or all of them should be sought through state action, school education, etc.

The following methods are always needed: (a) accurate definitions of terms; (b) concrete analysis of general concepts, as used so abundantly in current social and philosophical writings; (c) consideration of society in terms of

defined social groups, specifically described as to prevailing age of members, economic position, civic status, etc.; (d) concrete expression of social values as product of composite opinion (and especially of persons of known criteria of evaluation).

Clear and definite thinking can for the present be greatly facilitated by the use of the "case group" method. In this method sociological analysis, evaluation, and constructive proposal center about a known social group, rendered relatively homogeneous by the common possession of one or more qualities. The following are illustrative:

a. The French-Canadians who immigrate into New England to work in factories are largely homogeneous as regards language, religion, culture, sumptuary standards, and domestic life. It is alleged that among the men from 30 to 50 years of age certain political qualities (limitations, prepossessions, aspirations) are prevalent. These mature men can readily be studied in respect to their prevailing civic behavior — that is, they can be taken as a fairly concrete, realistic, and peculiar "case group." Their "prevailing forms of civic behavior" can be evaluated, if necessary, and conclusions reached as to what "probable shortages" should be anticipated and provided against in the oncoming generation.

b. We thus reach a basis for the consideration of a "pupils case group." Among these French-Canadian factory workers a large proportion of the boys from 10 to 15 years of age of modal intelligence will probably walk in the footsteps of their fathers, except for certain modifications due to American environment, general progress, and the purposive education of schools. What are now the prevailing social characteristics of these boys? What specific procedures of civic education can be provided to correct potential civic shortages similar to those of their fathers?

c. In practice much educational procedure has always been based on the assumption of distinctive group or class characteristics. Children in schools are formed into "classes," promoted, and admitted to higher institutions on basis of certain qualities rendering the groups relatively homogeneous. The blind have special schools because of the defect which they possess in common.

d. Sociological surveys of population now open the way to discrimination of numberless "case groups," many of which deserve careful analysis from the standpoint of the distinctive educational needs to which they give rise. Even where we postulate as desirable a common goal in the education of all — e.g., certain basic qualities of "Americanism" — it will be found that the "start" toward this goal already provided for varying groups by heredity and social environment varies greatly. Only by considering each group in respect to its needs and possibilities can effective procedures be devised — a truth long ago learned in medicine, military training, and industry.

4. **Vague objectives.** A large proportion of present writers on civic education content themselves with vague terminologies, general terms, and indeterminate aspirations. For example, it is often urged that the schools should teach coöperation. In fact, it is now a general belief that social education, under its differentiations of moral, civic, and religious education should aim to intensify, diversify, extend, or otherwise increase coöperation among men. But, as preliminary to any effective planning for such education, it is very desirable that preliminary study be given to questions like these:

A. DEFINITIONS

- (1) What is the derivation of the word "coöperation"?
- (2) Give any single example of its most common usage.

- (3) Frame two or more definitions.
- (4) Does it seem related to: physical health; intelligence; age; sex; race; character of work; education?

B. FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

- (5) What were your strong coöperative qualities at ages, 6; 12; 15; 21; when you first became independent and self-supporting; when other fundamental changes in your life had occurred?
- (6) Similar questions as to noticeably weak qualities of coöperation?
- (7) In what respects have associates tried to educate you toward better coöperation?
- (8) In what respects have schools done so?
- (9) What circumstances as to associates have impaired your powers of coöperation?
- (10) In what respects have powers of coöperation been so instinctive as to be practically unconscious?
- (11) In what respects have forms of coöperation become habitual with you?
- (12) Discovering some respect in which your coöperative abilities are inferior or unsatisfactory, how would you proceed toward self-education for improvement?

C. FROM YOUR OBSERVATION OF OTHERS

- (13) What species of animals have you observed closely coöperating?
- (14) Do children from 2 to 5 years of age coöperate?
- (15) When children are 7 to 10 years of age, is there coöperation in a classroom during penmanship exercises?
- (16) Report instances of coöperation between employer and employee.
- (17) Do physicians and patients coöperate?
- (18) When you buy an article in a store, is there coöperation?

- (19) Do mothers and children coöperate?
- (20) Do brothers coöperate?
- (21) Do black and white children, under 10 years of age, in Southern villages, coöperate?
- (22) Do rich white men and poor black men in Georgia coöperate?
- (23) Is a partnership a form of coöperation?
- (24) Does a stock company or corporation involve a high grade of coöperation?
- (25) Does the relationship of passenger and conductor on a railway train involve coöperation?
- (26) Is the prevailing relationship of elector (voter) and public office holder one of coöperation?
- (27) What differences do you see between the coöperation of guests and waiters in a hotel and that of the members of a political party?
- (28) What differences of coöperation do you see between the members of an old political party and those of one just forming?
- (29) What kinds of coöperation do you detect among school children?
- (30) If the formal and official relationships between teachers and pupils are not coöperation, how shall they be designated?
- (31) Is coöperation now found between labor and capital? Or rather in a large railroad system between stockholders and other employed executives on the one hand and other employed laborers on the other?

D. FROM HISTORIC SOURCES

- (32) Does it seem to you that savages or primitive men coöperated better than do modern men?
- (33) How would you describe the coöperation within the Jesuit Order?

- (34) How would you distinguish coöperation as found among pirates from that found among the men of 1776 in the colonies?
- (35) How would you distinguish the coöperations of an adult East Side gang from those of a church congregation?

From detailed analysis similar to the foregoing we should be able to divest ourselves of the habits, hampering many writers and speakers, of thinking of "coöperation" as "simple." We can proceed to determine and designate various species and intensively to study one or more of these.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SOCIOLOGICAL MEANING OF EDUCATION

WHAT IS EDUCATION?

THE term "education" has been variously used in recent literature of the subject. Perhaps its philosophical connotations are now hopelessly confused. For sociological purposes it seems best to agree upon certain definitions more or less inductively derived.

Men and women in their maturity and at the maximum of their powers are the products of the two sets of influences, respectively referred to under the words "heredity" and "environment." Heredity is assumed to be uncontrollable as far as the individual is concerned. (Collectively, of course, it is controllable through selection of potential parents — i.e., eugenics.) But environment, both material and social, is, within limits, controllable.

Every group of human beings, from the family to the nation, exerts controls over the social environments of its members, consciously or unconsciously, accidentally or intentionally, through material, or through human, agencies. Where control of environmental conditions, extending to such specific forms as instruction and training, is directed toward increasing, hindering, or otherwise modifying "natural growth" in any of its myriad forms, we have what will here be called education. Obviously such control may be consciously purposive, or its purposes, subconsciously derived, may be obscured in custom and unconscious social routines. The resulting effects may appear in bodily changes, or in mental habits, appreciations, ideals, and knowledge.

Heredity and environment. Profitless debate is often indulged in as to whether "heredity" or "environment" is the "more important." Obviously one might as well ask

whether the brain or the stomach is more important in the individual economy. Without the peculiar plasticities of nerve and other tissue, environments of course could produce nothing; whilst such tissue must be acted upon at least by those environmental influences called nurture to be of any significance whatever.

Any one of scores of functions may profitably be examined as illustrative here — for example, speech. Heredity gives vocal organs and their directive nerve structures. Environment — nurtural, including social example — gives forms for development — language. Purposive education corrects or reinforces the growths stimulated by environment and thus gives correct or effective speech. Similarly, the inquisitive learner will trace the sources and development of adult appreciations and powers of: running; handwriting; maternal care; love of literature; gang coöperations; religious aspirations; and hundreds of others.

The ease with which appreciations and powers are acquired depends obviously on limitations set by qualities of inheritance, on the one hand, and on the effectiveness of educative environmental adjustments, on the other. "Nature" (as we say) has made man unable to thrive upon grass, to live under water, or to fly by muscular powers. She makes some people easily able to go far in learning pugilism, music, or mathematics. She denies large structure of body to some, of mind to others, and, probably, of moral sensibility to still others. The "educability" of every individual, as respects any function, is clearly a limited quantity.

Insufficient food, rest, or play "stunts" the body, just as poor educational stimuli give deficient speech, low moral character, or narrow range of knowledge. But on the positive side in all organization of educational means, a point of "diminishing returns" is sooner or later reached.

EDUCATION IN THE BROADEST SENSE

Education, then, is a product of all group activities. Its effects flow also, in primitive varieties, from the contact of the individual with the non-human elements of his environment. The experience thus gained by contact with stones, water, winds, fire, and animals might helpfully be called self-education. But the human environment surrounding and affecting every individual is so pervasive and enveloping that in effect it practically always conditions the contacts thus made, as well as gives significance to the resulting experiences. Hence education may practically be termed a "social process."

Extra-school education. All persons are in a degree instinctively teachers, especially toward those who are younger, smaller, less able, or otherwise "inferior" to themselves. Equally all persons are instinctively learners, especially from those who are older, wiser, abler, or otherwise superior to them. Sociologically, the family is commonly the most compact, as well as also, usually, the most heterogeneous, of all social groups. Within it education goes on incessantly, but commonly toward goals that are held as only half-conscious precipitates of custom or convention.

Within vocational groups — employer-employee, master-servant, partners, guild, union, corporation — certain forms of education are never absent. The same is largely true also within religious groups, sociability groups, community parties, cults, and states. The great majority of social groups persist, whilst their numbers come and go. Accessioned members are usually subjected to educative influences to fit them for the group — from the baby growing up in the family, the neighborhood, or the state, to the adult adopted into a fraternity, a club, a corporation, or citizenship. Education thus becomes one of the means of social control — not by any means the only one, but in

some cases the most effective one, partly because the most economical one.

Education or educative processes can profitably be analyzed with reference to the *social groups*, for whose furtherance or interests they are effected — from the family, local community, clique, and party at one end, to the federation, nation, and hierarchical system (including service to God) at the other. The incessant interactions of individual and group here should be understood. Much education is consciously designed “for the good of the individual,” but in turn the “good” of the individual is seldom conceived as an end in itself. The “good individual” becomes in turn “good” for one or another social group, perhaps for that abstract collectivity of social groups called “society” or “humanity.”

Educative processes may profitably be studied with relation to the agencies which prominently carry them on. The home, the playground, the church, the work place, the club, the press, the stage, the library, the police power are notable agencies whose educational purposiveness is commonly less direct or comprehensive than that of “the school,” which is, generally, an agency created primarily to promote some form of education. Several or all of these agencies may obviously be more or less influenced by any social group as to the aims or methods of the education it permits or consciously gives. Sometimes the family, sometimes the church, and for the present the state, is given relative ascendancy here. The home is only slightly affected by state oversight; in America the church, stage, press, playground, club, shop, and private school are essentially private agencies; whilst the library, police power, and public school are very much under public direction.

SCHOOL EDUCATION

Educators are prone, naturally, to exaggerate the potency of school education. Helpful methods of evaluating contributions of various agencies can be devised by taking (*a*) an adult case group and (*b*) a specific form of bodily or mental quality known to be possessed by them, and tracing the latter to its origins. For example:

a. College graduates, men aged 40–60 in business, exhibit moderate (or very modest) reading knowledge of French. Sources will of course usually be found in schools. *b.* Same exhibit certain more or less standardized manners toward ladies. To what extent, probably, have home, sociability association, and schools respectively contributed? *c.* Same exhibit certain varieties of vocational success. Sources in home, schools, “shop” experience? *d.* Same exhibit certain characteristic civic qualities. Sources?

e. African savage men, aged 30–40, exhibit certain prevailing qualities of physical well-being. Trace sources, apart from heredity, to family nurture, tribal customs, warrior training, etc. *f.* Same exhibit certain distinctive moral qualities. Trace to sources.

g. The “owning farmers,” 40 to 50 years of age, of North Mississippi Valley states exhibit distinctive types of vocational proficiency, health, moral traits, civic and cultural qualities. Trace to sources their: habitual literary interests; abilities to apply principles of scientific agriculture; defects in coöperative enterprise; general good health.

h. It is alleged that “middle class” married American women of high school education or more, between ages of 30 and 40, are prevailingly of the “nervous housewife” order, as respects health — that is, are excessively subject to neurasthenia, in spite of property, social position, subnormal number of children, and small amount of work. Trace defects to probable sources in heredity or environment.

QUALITATIVE DISTINCTIONS IN EDUCATION

For practical purposes it is serviceable to divide specific forms of education into (a) developmental or "beta" and (b) projective or "alpha" types respectively, according as they primarily: (1) aid or make possible fairly normal types of development as these are strongly projected by hereditary predispositions; and (2) train or instruct toward relatively artificial objectives dictated by supposed needs of civilized or other highly organized life. The ordinary physical plays of childhood; the learning of vernacular speech in the home; the enjoyment of music; interests in popular stories as told or read; hunting arts for adolescents; social intercourse; the fear of the unseen—are examples of the first order. Handwriting; a foreign language acquired after childhood; a trade well learned; the solution of mathematical problems; the substitution of correct for incorrect vernacular structures or pronunciations in maturity; the learning of the "manual of arms"—are usually examples of the second order. If the connotations of the words permitted, we might profitably call the first "natural" learning and the second "artificial" learning. Under favorable circumstances the objectives of the first order will usually best be realized in the "play" spirit; and those of the second in the "work" spirit.

"The child is instinctively a learner," it is often said. True—in certain areas of life's activities, and up to a certain degree of fineness or arduousness of effort. But in other areas, and beyond certain points, the coercions of fear, of love, and of desire for "goods" to be achieved only through the means of toil and concentration, are needful. Schools are provided by societies largely to provide just these coercions and the controlled conditions needed for the work. Coercion is more necessary to teach routine corn hoeing than to teach fishing. The multiplication table is learned less easily than the vernacular. Imitative singing comes more readily than notation reading.

CLASSIFICATION OF AIMS BASED ON SOCIAL OBJECTIVES

The numberless specific varieties of education may be classified for convenience in several different ways. Formerly the terms intellectual, moral, spiritual, and physical were used to designate different varieties, based, presumably, upon assumed differences in the make-up or "nature" of the learner. The evolution of schools has given many categories based upon the logical divisions into which knowledge and skills fall. Thus we obtain such groupings as linguistic, literary, scientific, mathematical, artistic, historical, and professional. More specifically we find schools, or at least classes, in spelling, French, Shakespearean dramas, trigonometry, chemistry, English history, geography, music, chorus, painting, dancing, rifle shooting, stenography, oral surgery, and very many other "subjects."

It is probable that the scientific study of the desirable and feasible objectives of education (for varying kinds of learners and to meet varying conditions of environment) will find of most service classifications based upon objective study of the products of education as achieved or desired on behalf of the members of societies. And since, scientifically as well as popularly, infancy is "preparation for life" (adult life chiefly of course), these products will have to be studied mainly as they exhibit themselves in adult years.

Social groups. One hundred American men from 35 to 55 years of age, chosen at random either from all Americans, or from a defined class — e.g., men of high school education in business; men of less than fifth-grade education; tenant farmers of a given area; journeymen carpenters; adherents of the Methodist church; regular patrons of good drama, etc. — exhibit a large variety of powers and appreciations as respects: use of English, literary interests, moral character, civic ideals, healthfulness, vocational success, etc. By current standards of social valuation some of these qualities,

as found in a large proportion of the individuals under consideration, are "satisfactory" — or the reverse. From this sociological starting point ought to begin processes, first of evaluating the education which these men have had, and second of planning for better or otherwise different education, for the next generation. Probably only through some such processes as this can we finally learn how to trace respectively to heredity and to various phases of environmental influence, including conscious education, the origins of the qualities we find.

PHYSICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

From the composites of qualities that we find in adults it is even now practicable to derive certain groupings which are very useful as throwing light on possible means and methods of producing similar or different qualities in the next generation. Thus a large variety of qualities composing "physical well-being" stand out — the healthful functioning of teeth and lungs and heart, the ability to withstand communicable disease, the possession of strength and endurance easily to sustain the strains of vocation, the tastes for physical activity that make leisure time a zestful experience. "Physical education" can, therefore, be made a convenient bracket for all those forms of more or less purposive controls of nurturing environment, trainings of bodily function, instruction in hygiene, and idealization of "the sound body" which are designed to minister in minor measure to the immediate physical well-being of the infant, and in major measure to that of the adult.

Similarly the qualities that distinctively make for the vocational efficiency of adults stand out. "Job analysis" on the one hand and "individual diagnosis" (vocational) on the other are now in process of rapid development in accordance with scientific method. Presently we shall be

able, it would seem, after measuring the success of an individual in his vocation, to trace to their respective sources in heredity, nurturing environment, general education, "pick-up" vocational education, and school vocational education the factors of this success. The next step, naturally, would be to improve in specific measures upon the discovered educational means for the benefit of the next generation.

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL EDUCATION

A variety of qualities, lying largely apart from the vocational and health categories, have been historically comprehended by the elastic word "culture." Manifestly the abilities of adults to use the vernacular in oral and written forms for purposes of general and social intercourse should be included here. So also should those numerous intellectual and æsthetic "non-utilitarian" interests that are capable of extensively enriching life. Even the arithmetic, reading, nature study, and geography of the elementary school can well be included here, since their vocational and civic "functioning" in adult activities are relatively minor to their contributions to personal culture as found in "high-grade utilization." Some, at least, of the cultural "shortages" or defects of adult case groups are easily capable of determination as a basis of discovering specific objectives for the better education of the rising generation.

Finally there can readily be diagnosed in any group of adults a host of moral, civic, and religious qualities that primarily affect their "social group" relationships. To these we often apply the standards of ethical evaluation — good, moral, righteous, honorable, fair, decent, altruistic, lovable, etc., on the one hand; and bad, immoral, sinful, dishonorable, unfair, indecent, self-seeking, etc., on the other. Since all men have lived from infancy in social groups, the educative influences that have operated to shape the "social natures"

given by original heredity have been all but numberless. Nevertheless, as social groups grow in complexity, whilst "original nature" does not materially change with successive generations, the field of purposive "social education" (a good term to include moral, civic, and religious education) waxes steadily in importance and scope.

Other classifications of educational objectives may prove helpful. Sociological analysis shows that a large proportion of the activities of men fall into two groups, indicated by the words "productive" and "utilizing." Of great sociological significance is the fact that the processes of social evolution persistently narrow and specialize the field of any individual's effective production whilst at the same time expanding his field of utilization. The men and women of America follow, according to fineness of classification, from two thousand to five thousand distinctive vocations; but as utilizers of the world's science, music, architecture, useful arts, civic service, transportation, foodstuffs, fabrics, and housing, the scope of their utilization widens continuously and the quality of such utilization improves partly as our schools train in right tastes and judgments. In production men become increasingly dependent on environment, whilst in utilization they become relatively independent of it.

"Education for leisure" and "education for good family membership" denote groups of objectives urged for special consideration by some educators.

The "disciplined mind" is obviously an important possible objective in education, but probably not apart from specific functionings in useful or pleasing forms of vocational, civic, and cultural powers and appreciations. It is poor logic and worse science to speak of the "trained body" or the "trained hand," apart from the service-rendering functions given by those mechanisms. Similarly, it is valid to assume that no great importance attaches to specific forms of mental

training except as these "function" in the approved activities of life — and chiefly, again, in adult life.

Loose interpretations of some of the current literature of education may easily lead to a confusing of means and methods on the one hand with objectives on the other. Those who seek escape from the formalisms of historic types of schools and subjects of study talk much in terms of "activities" and "projects." But these obviously are means, not ends — except, perhaps, for a few "developmental" objectives. They are means — but to what known ends? Here much of contemporary educational thinking becomes vague and inarticulate. Before effective "correlation" as a means or method of education becomes finally effective, there must be clearer understanding than we yet possess (except perhaps as respects the specific powers of spelling and handwriting) of, first, the desirable, and second, the feasible, objectives that should or can be realized on behalf of specified groups or levels.

It is important in all groupings of the adult qualities that profitably suggest classifications of educational objectives, to distinguish focal (or primary) from marginal (or secondary) aspects. Thus health, moral rectitude, and personal culture often play a part in vocational success; but they are accessory, not primary factors, and are not legitimately to be sought as central objectives in vocational education. Vocational success is often a factor in healthfulness, civic behavior, or even personal culture; but it is not a primary and universal factor except by very forced and needlessly artificial interpretations. Here we shall be much helped by discriminating study of the valuations that have grown out of the common experience of mankind.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MEANING OF SOCIAL EDUCATION

PRELIMINARY ANALYSES

THE specific objectives of social education can best be considered in connection with the particular group relationships which are intended to be affected. Some social groups are properly civic groups, some are not. Many social virtues or social vices are capable, of course, of affecting a man's relationships to several kinds of groups; but effective procedure will often require that in education the principal group relationship be kept in the foreground. The chief social groups requiring consideration are:

a. The family or domestic groups, involving the relationships of children to parents, parents to children, brothers to brothers, husbands to wives, etc. The principal *moral* virtues here are various fairly tangible varieties or species of coöperation, fidelity, loyalty, tolerance, truthfulness, chastity, frankness, reticence, kindness, obedience, leadership, submission, respect for authority, self-restraint, self-denial, etc. Recall the connotations or implications of such words as: filial, fraternal, parental, conjugal.

The principal *moral* vices are certain easily recognized forms of antagonism, conflict, anger, brutality, jealousy, sulkiness, insubordination, irresponsibility of leadership, cruelty, greediness.

The following sociological conditions should be noted. (1) The membership of the family group is very heterogeneous. Hence subordination and superordination play a large part, and failures of proper functioning easily become grievous sources of disharmony. (2) The membership is exceedingly intimate. (3) Instinctive reactions play a large rôle, often and easily overriding habits formed educationally,

frequently for bad, sometimes for good, ends. (4) The family is the center of coöperative utilization and, although in lessening degree, of coöperative production. Hence sumptuary and industrial disharmonies easily arise.

b. Neighborhood groups in their non-political relationships. Many of the traditions and perhaps some of the instinctive reactions in neighborhood groups derive from a time when kinship was a determining bond. Under primitive social conditions neighborhood groupings assured coöperative production, including defense, and sometimes coöperative utilization. They have always contributed to sociability, friendly intercourse, relief of distress, joint worship, cultural coöperation, etc. At any age, sex, or occupational level they are usually quite homogeneous as respects composition by family groups, subject to well-known minor forms of "aristocracy."

The conspicuous virtues here are certain easily defined forms of toleration, kindness, mutual aid, chastity, regard for property rights, truthfulness, moral courage, self-denial, friendliness, reticence, etc.

The conspicuous vices are certain varieties of: selfishness, intolerance, pugnacity, backbiting, cliquishness, tale-bearing, "gangishness," unfriendliness, jealousy, envy, unchastity, property dishonesty, obscene speech, gossip, etc.

c. Vocational groups, formed for coöperation in production or in meeting conditions incident to production. Conspicuous relationships are those of master and apprentice, employer and employee, partners, agent and principal, etc. (School groups may be regarded as primarily vocational groups.)

The conspicuous virtues here are specific varieties of: industriousness, honesty, truthfulness, loyalty, tolerance, coöperation, subordination, responsibility, conscientiousness, etc.

The conspicuous vices are recognized varieties of: idleness, deceit, insubordination, disloyalty, dishonesty, scamping, disorderliness, etc.

d. Religious groups formed for purposes of joint worship.

Conspicuous virtues are varieties of: piety, humility, loyalty, fidelity, faithfulness, Christian fellowship, ceremonial observance, submission, etc. Conspicuous vices are: infidelity, hypocrisy, disbelief, heterodoxy, insubordination, irreverence, profanity, idolatry, etc.

e. Political groups, formed for the purpose of promoting by concert of action such ends as common security, enforcement of justice, and provision of public utilities. These groups include: villages, municipalities, states, nations, and confederations organized for defense, aggression, administration of justice, and provision of utilities (coinage, roads, education, colonization, trade); and political parties or other voluntary or partisan groupings centering about promotion of political policies.

The conspicuous civic virtues are certain, as yet imperfectly defined, varieties of: conformity to laws, ordinances, conventions; submission to duly constituted authority including, in democracies, the expressed will of majorities; loyalty to approved institutions and policies; fearless and active participation in political party group activities; self-sacrifice (in the common defense or other emergency); and political honesty.

The conspicuous civic (including martial) vices are certain varieties of: poltroonery, disloyalty, insubordination, lawlessness, criminality, dishonesty, grafting, self-centered individualism, irresponsibility, intolerance, seditiousness, predatoriness, etc.

f. Cultural or mutual improvement groups, such as scientific associations, clubs for promotion of intellectual or æsthetic ends, etc.

g. Man's relationship to animals constitutes a special field of social ethics. Virtues are tolerance, humaneness, etc.; the vices, cruelty, brutality, neglect, etc.

CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL EDUCATION

The final products or results of physical, vocational, and cultural education are essentially individual, even though many of their later consequences are necessarily social. A hermit or Robinson Crusoe could, in spite of his isolation, exhibit some high achievements in health and strength, vocational proficiency, and cultural interests.

But the products or effects of social education, on the other hand, must be measured and evaluated from the outset by standards of *social* worth. Social worths are determined by the effective functionings of social groups. But social groups ultimately resolve into individual personalities through, and by means of whom, social qualities are developed and manifested. Social education, building on original nature, is directed toward intensifying, extending, modifying, or repressing that original nature toward the needs of group life as these at the present time exhibit themselves.

Varieties of social groups. Certain practical considerations of primary importance to social education grow out of the facts that: (a) the various social groups in which any individual has voluntary or involuntary membership vary greatly in their size, complexity, and the accessibility of their needs and processes to his understanding; (b) the *instinctive leanings* or *pulls* toward good group membership as found in any individual vary greatly as toward different kinds of groups; (c) the mechanisms of social control already developed or capable of being developed by the various groups vary widely and by no means directly as the usefulness of these groups to the ends of civilized society; and (d) finally the social qualities of individuals, as resulting from instinct and early nurture (and giving appreciations of "self-interest" and of particular or small group interests) vary greatly. Hence the needs of carefully organized social education vary greatly as the groups, the needs of which

are being considered, are largely *natural* groups, or are modern products of the conditions of civilization — that is, relatively artificial groups.

a. For such relationships as mother and children, husband and wife, playfellows, small and local sociability groups, there exist ancient instinctive foundations in man's "original nature." Similar instinctive foundations are also found for the relationships (toleration, mutual aid, subjection to leadership, etc.) involved in more or less sporadic economic groups — productive work, partnership, master and servant, and also simple political groups — committees, mobs, gangs, martial bands. Self-defense and predatory instincts often give bases for very strong groups among primitive peoples.

b. But for many of the groups and group relationships required in civilized life, instinctive foundations in the individual are weak, sometimes antagonistic. This is conspicuously the case where (a) *extensive* groups must be formed — cities, states, nations, large worshiping, coöperative, and cultural groups, etc.; (b) where *unlike* human beings must be brought into relations of tolerance and coöperation — blacks and whites, cultured and uncultured, men and women, rich and poor, etc.; and (c) where the "goods" resulting from coöperation are uncertain or likely to go to certain parts of the group only — stockholders and unionized employees, mercenary soldiers, distant consumers, skeptical worshippers, etc.

c. Since civic groupings are those for which there exist fewest instinctive foundations; in which the visible values are hardest to discern (except in time of danger from war); and which necessarily enforce or at least need participation of most heterogeneous social elements — therefore, for them there is required the maximum of positive or direct education.

d. Under conditions of civilization nearly all forms of group life become more complicated, more delicately ad-

justed, more liable to derangement. Hence the growing need for specified forms of social education that shall conform to the conditions imposed by decline of authoritarian control, by rise of effective demands for democracy, for freedom of thought, etc. This need seems to be especially great in all civic groupings.

SOME PROBLEMS IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Social psychology is yet deficient in analyses of the motives and directives of civic action. But personal experience and observation enable us to use for practical purposes some popularly understood classifications and valuations.

a. Among the motive forces we easily recognize:

- (1) Fear — of punishment, of disapproval, of failure, of death, etc. (endless special varieties may be traced).
- (2) Love, ambition, desire, sentiment — in endless variety, as toward self-realization, aggrandizement, approval, security, gratification of senses, etc.
- (3) Conscience, sense of honor, etc., perhaps irradiations or sublimations of more primitive qualities. All of these have foundations in instincts, of course, and their activity has strong emotional or pleasure-pain accompaniments. All of them tend toward certain kinds of fixities in habits, attitudes, appreciations, ideals, crystallized "character."

b. Among the directive means of social or civic action in the individual we can recognize:

- (1) Instincts, impulses, and intuitions — social, individualistic, etc.

- (2) Appreciations, feeling attitudes, likes and dislikes, prejudices, tastes, valuations, preferences, desires, etc.
 - (3) Habits, non-emotional attitudes, inertias, obsessions, etc. (these merge with (1) and (2) but are supposed to be relatively non-emotional except when frustrated).
 - (4) Knowledge, intelligence, insight, understanding. (Note that *motive* and *directive* qualities constantly interact, perhaps blend, in practice. But their handling for educational purposes probably takes different methods.)
 - (5) Aspirations, ideals, and the like in their dynamic aspects.
- c. In the processes by which the adult citizen becomes what he is in motives, habits, understandings, etc., there has been a great deal of sifting, growth, and fixation of qualities. The final products give us the relatively stable composite called "character" — good or bad. Those specific qualities of character that can be "counted on" in action we can best call virtues and vices. Note the terms — and their opposites — in common use to describe these: alert, inventive, artistic, rational, sincere, thorough, useful, adaptable, attentive, cautious, coöperative, decisive, directive, executive, industrious, obedient, persistent, purposeful, responsible, teachable, thrifty, conscientious, independent, magnanimous, prudent, refined, self-controlled, self-respecting, thoughtful, considerate, congenial, courteous, faithful, genuine, harmonious, helpful, honest, honorable, just, law-abiding, patient, pure, respectful, regardful of rights of others, sociable, tactful, trustful, truthful, ambitious, appreciative, hopeful, courageous, self-confident,

determined, earnest, forgiving, friendly, generous, grateful, humble, humorous, idealistic, kindly, loyal, poised, progressive, public-spirited, reverent, righteous, sportsmanlike, sympathetic, tolerant, truth-seeking, etc. (based on Milton Fairchild's *Perfect Human Being*).

- d. There is greatly needed some kind of rating of potency (either generally or as varied among individuals) of various motives, as found native or as modified by social control. When is the boy's fear of his playmates' displeasure greater than his fear of the teacher's wrath? Under what circumstances will a man's fear of death yield to his fear of being called a coward? What is meant by "Every man has his price"? When can love of an admired one's approval outweigh self-interest? When does "knowing" what is right (or what is expected by most approved authorities) assure right action? Educational proposals seem to pass lightly over the problems implied here.

SOME EDUCATIONAL PRESUPPOSITIONS

Most well-informed educators now agree that we cannot extensively derive "general powers" of observation, reasoning, imagination, memory, attention, and the like, from hard and persistent training in specific varieties or "species" of these powers. The same principle probably applies to such qualities as "the scientific attitude," "the religious attitude," thrift, industriousness, etc. Only slowly are we beginning to see that it doubtless holds no less true regarding the moral and civic virtues — honesty, truthfulness, loyalty, fidelity, patriotism, altruism, etc. In practice each one of these is a kind of "genus" — with each its many varieties or species. Each person has developed — or been trained in — one or several varieties. If these varieties have common elements, these tend to fuse or blend in *general* experience,

appreciations, ideals, attitudes. Possibly relatively general ideals may emerge from intense particular experiences — but the psychology of this is obscure and dubious.

Is it natural or usual for the mind or spirit to *generalize* certain residual qualities — valuations, appreciations, ideals, attitudes, tastes — from a few specific experiences? Common experience seems to answer affirmatively, as it formerly did the question as to whether “observation,” “reasoning,” and other generalized mental powers could be taught. Moral and civic education find it urgently necessary to determine how far specific training, instruction, or idealization in or of honesty, truthfulness, reverence, civic interest, law and order, patriotic sacrifice, international sympathy, and the like, will produce *general* qualities as a dependable part of civic and moral character.

Moral disciplines. Social psychologists seem to be substantially agreed upon these principles:

a. That as respects the neural basis or foundations of moral as well as intellectual qualities — and including thereunder instincts as well as learning plasticities or teachableness — individuals probably differ greatly, as they do in potentialities for size, color of hair, musical abilities, fear, and other “physical” qualities. Men are in general more combative than women; women seem to have greater sympathy for helpless children; some persons have much keener social sympathies than others; whilst similar native differences, perhaps very great, exist as regards parental affection, sociability, gregariousness, altruism (toward federates), and other distinctively social qualities.

b. That when specific experience produces certain attitudes in particular situations, recognition of similar elements in new situations will tend to revive similar attitudes. For example, a child made afraid by a dog will fear other animals behaving like or resembling dogs as long as contrary experi-

ence is not strong. A man made reverential in the believed presence of one Deity will transfer attitude to a situation involving a spirit related to that Deity.

c. That for the highly rational man it is possible, on the basis of limited experience, to reason more or less deductively from isolated experiences to general application. "Ridicule hurts me, and I easily learn that it hurts my friendly associates; by inference, it hurts my enemies, distant people, perhaps certain animals." Now if the man's motives not to hurt have somehow become general, then action will follow combined motive and understanding, unless countervailing pressures exist.

d. That where a strong motive already exists — due to natural qualities plus experience in a very general range of activities — then intellectual identification of a particular possible act as coming within that range will, except for countervailing pulls, insure performance in line with the motive. A child is very anxious to please his mother; an authority tells him that a certain form of behavior will do so; his action follows. A "club" man is very anxious to avoid the ill-opinion of his club associates; some one who "knows" says of a certain possible course of action, "It is not done, you know." A man instinctively fears physical injury; therefore he avoids action that is alleged to promise it. A man cherishes a reputation for business honesty; he will eschew conduct, otherwise promising, which might interfere with this reputation. Self-analysis will show that each one of us holds scores or hundreds of these guiding motives — rooted in ideals, appreciations, ideas.

e. That the moral and civic struggles, mistakes, and tragedies of life arise chiefly from these sources:

(1) We have not the right motives in consciousness.

(2) We have right and wrong motives in consciousness, but in acting the wrong are stronger than the right.

(3) We have right motives of adequate strength, but we are ignorant of right courses of action.

f. That social disharmonies result largely from the fact that average persons are prone:

(1) To serve their individual interests or desires before those of their kin and fellows.

(2) To serve the interests of their kin — in family groups — before those of their associates and federates (subject to the exception that when one is breaking away from the filial group and has not welded himself strongly in marital and parental groups he goes through a period when some instinctive associate group — gang, club, band — may hold him more strongly than his family group).

(3) To serve the interests of associates before those of federates.

The foregoing may be called defects due to “excess of natural tendency.”

g. That at times social disharmonies result from inversion of natural tendencies. These may be called “excesses of virtue.”

(1) A man sacrifices himself to others.

(2) A man neglects his family for associate or federate groups.

(3) He serves spiritual beings to the neglect of humans.

(4) He devotes himself excessively to an abstract ideal — justice, art, science, exploration, invention.

Conclusions. In the absence of dependable knowledge regarding “transfer” (more accurately, “general spread” from particular experiences, habits, ideals, etc.) of moral and civic qualities — powers or appreciations — the following questions are raised:

a. Why should we not devote our educational resources and efforts to producing good moral and civic conduct or behavior on the part of the individual toward the groups

in which he now has membership — school work groups, play groups, community groups, family groups, commonwealth federate groups? The virtues here — of conformity and initiative — are easily analyzed and many examples of successful devices are available.

b. Why should we not, in the second place, seek to produce those specific virtues which, while not especially germane to youthful life, nevertheless manifestly function in adult life? Specific types of courtesy to women, of property honesty, of respect for parks, of conserving the cleanliness of streets, of preservation of game, of relief of poverty, of observing the Sabbath, etc., come under this head.

OTHER VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EDUCATION

The foregoing would be sought as virtues in action — i.e., as complexes of instinct, appreciation, habit, attitude, ideal. The test of the efficacy of the teaching would at any time be *conduct*. No mystical assumptions as to “spread” need be entertained. But certain supplemental lines of social education are also possible:

a. Under teaching guidance young learners could be led to comprehend and — in degrees practicable to non-participants — to evaluate (criticize) social conduct in real or imaginary group situations in which they do not now have membership. For this, “present company excepted” is an essential attitude. Youths thus may scrutinize, come to understand, and in a measure morally evaluate behavior in other schools, among other peoples, among contemporary adult groups, etc. Will pupils “take” results here that will affect their own conduct when later ages or changed conditions bring them into “grip” with the inducements and other conditions of the groups criticized adversely or admired? Possibly, but expectations should not be too sanguine.

b. Under teaching guidance learners may readily be induced to respond in appreciations and ideals to particular social situations where factors of feeling are large. *The Marseillaise* arouses patriotic fervor, *Black Beauty* evokes love of horses, *The Song of the Shirt* begets aspirations for the oppressed. Note large use of drama, painting, fiction, poetry, moving pictures, ceremonial, pageantry, for these purposes. What have been the social functions of Art here? Note also how oratory, sermon, religious observance serve same ends. None question that when related conduct is possible soon after emotional appeal, effects are strong. But will results "keep" long, if action (behavior, conduct, expression, performance) is not at once called for? This is doubtful. Excessive reliance on the method is of dubious worth at present.

c. Under teaching guidance moral or civic problems (as these perplex adults) may be studied, elucidated on the part of youths. If these are still problems when youth is confronted by needs for action, knowledge may carry over. (But note that when these are controversial, teachers may be estopped by partisan zeal from extensive analytical treatment of them, especially if harm or good to vested interests and cherished prepossessions might result.)

d. Information about structure and functions of governmental and other social agencies and institutions can be taught as knowledge, as one can teach facts of history, principles of physics, etc. But:

(1) Such teaching is formal where no active motive for learning exists.

(2) Its usefulness is often not clear.

(3) Should such stored and organized knowledge be regarded as one regards the dictionary, railroad time tables, collections of statutes, gazetteers, encyclopedias, etc. to be available and organized for ready use when needed?

SOCIAL GROUPINGS: SOME PROBLEMS SUMMARIZED

Experience clearly shows great variabilities in: (a) the sizes of the social groups in which man has membership; (b) the efficacy of *instinctive* pulls to good membership; (c) the efficacy of *self-interest* appeals; (d) the *coercive efficiency* of machinery of social control; (e) the need of systematized *educational adjustment*.

Examples: (a) The instincts, customs, etc., of family control usually insure good group membership on the part of children from birth to ten years of age. School or other supplemental agencies are little needed. (b) Harmony of husband and wife is furthered as a result of religious and social education, with laws and penalties for cases of extreme disharmony. (c) Within ordinary conjugal family group (for example, 2 adults, 4 children) specific virtues of toleration, coöperation, truthfulness, continence, property honesty, etc., are usually assured. (d) Within village community, conformist virtues are largely assured by public opinion, Mrs. Grundy, church, and school; but youngsters often break conventions. Virtues of initiative are not assured, resulting in weak coöperation except where self-interest is manifestly served. (Consider thesis: "In preënlighenment stages of social evolution the village is the chief nursery of the true civic — i.e., beyond kinship — virtues; but under enlightenment, the village is too small and diversified to give foundations for constituent societies and larger co-operations.") (e) Within national or other state groups conformist virtues are secured by law, cool justice, influence of voluntary leaders. Coöperation is secured with difficulty except in the tangible stress of war dangers. Here is the central area of the true civic virtues.

Classifications of virtues. The following classifications of virtues will prove profitable in subsequent studies: (a) Individual virtues, those that make the individual strong,

successful, happy, for himself. (b) Kinship virtues, those that insure solidarity, success, mutual aid, mutual pleasing within family and allied kinship groups. (c) Neighborhood associate civic virtues, those that give effectiveness to group relationship within component group, embracing chiefly those who come into personal contact with each other — usually 10 to 500 persons. (Elsewhere included as “associate civic” virtues.) (d) Commonwealth or federate civic virtues, those giving civic effectiveness in large municipality, state, or nation, where men reach each other at second hand through leaders, legislation, printed matter, books, etc.

Consideration must later be given to the suggestion that focal area of school social education, ages 4–9, should be kinship groups and school community groups; for ages 9–12, neighborhood community groups; and for ages 12–18 the commonwealth groups.

Problems. In terms of fundamental social values under normal conditions is it essential to social soundness that: (a) an individual should give first consideration to being a well-developed, strongly functioning individual personality; (b) that next in order of importance is good family membership; (c) that third in order is good local community membership; and (d) that last in order is good commonwealth membership? Would or should this order be readjusted (a) in time of national danger? (b) in time of civil war? (c) in time of famine?

How should this order be considered in special reference to: girls, aged 5 to 12; men, aged 20–25; women, aged 30–40 of less than average abilities; men, of super-average ability and hereditary advantages, aged 30–60; recent immigrants of low ability and precarious economic conditions?

Is it reasonable to assume that, in view of the efficacy of non-school agencies, the responsibilities and work of schools in social education will be tenfold greater in pro-

ducing the commonwealth civic virtues than in producing the local community civic virtues? And proportionately greater in producing the local community virtues than the kinship virtues?

Is it reasonable to assume that security and social progress are multiplying demands on commonwealth virtues, only moderately increasing demands on local community virtues, and perhaps diminishing demands for kinship virtues?

From studies of these problems could we derive formulations of *reasonable* or *optimum* social expectancies as to possession of social virtues?

Proposed studies. To what extent will forms of social analysis and evaluations like those suggested below prove helpful in planning social education?

CASE GROUP DR. Young white men, ages 20-24, of average abilities, inclined to manual vocations, unmarried, but keenly interested in opposite sex, foreign-born ancestry, resident in small city, of elementary school education, no inherited wealth. (Presuppose normal conditions of peace, and include functioning ideals and practicable desires as well as practice.) Reasonable optimum social expectations rated on basis of 10,000 positive units.

a. Individual virtues, 4000 units (include health, vocation, personal culture, and sumptuary or "consumers'" standards).

b. Kinship virtues, 2000 units (include support of parents, coöperation with brothers and sisters, proper sex relations with women, and active ideals toward forming own family).

c. Neighborhood or associate civic virtues, 3000 units (include geographic community, vocational group, relations to employers, culture and sociability groups, local political party and religious groups, local voting, etc., and include sex relations in so far as these affect rights of others).

d. Federate civic virtues, 1000 units (include patriotism, contributions to representative government, state and national politics, participation in federations of political party, religious, vocational, cultural, and sociability groups, as well as overflow of these in international relations).

What different "expectation ratings" should be provided for:

CASE GROUP DX. College-educated business men, 35-60 years old, with some inherited wealth, American ancestry, resident in city of 25,000 population.

What expectation ratings would you give Case Group DR in time of great danger from external war?

What expectation rating would you give Case Group DX men in time of war?

Suggested analyses. Society holds certain crude expectations of its members as to economic productiveness and conservation. For example, is it normal that:

a. A child of six on a farm should have no stored wealth (capital) and may easily consume tenfold what he produces?

b. A single man aged 22 of good health, high school education, and family environment, having discontinued educational preparation since 18, should have stored wealth measured at several hundred dollars, relatively high (high school graduate standard of living) sumptuary practices, and a productive capacity 50 per cent greater than consuming practice?

c. That a man of 40 of moderate education, poor health, and inferior vocational capacity who has elected to build a family should have \$500 worth of stored wealth, low or very economical consuming practices, and productive powers three times as great as his own individual needs of consumption?

Variable potentialities. Should society hold expectations similarly varied as regards good citizenship? Analyze from standpoint of (*a*) conformist and (*b*) dynamic virtues in

(1) kinship, (2) neighborhood, and (3) federate groups, optimum (or reasonable) expectations from:

- a.* Boys aged six in good families on small hill farms;
- b.* Women elementary school teachers in cities, ages 45-60;
- c.* Negro illiterate workers in soft coal mines;
- d.* Well-educated married women in prosperous suburban families;
- e.* Young men, unmarried, operative laborers, sons of recent Hungarian immigrants, with whose language and customs they are rapidly losing sympathy?

SOCIAL EVALUATIONS

The "worth" of a man in terms of all or of some of his qualities is to be estimated from any one of several stand-points. Every man, of course, values his qualities in terms of the satisfactions they give himself. His health may give him a net balance of pain; his vocation a large amount of pleasure; his convivial associations a large net satisfaction; and the like.

The valuation of qualities from external sources arises from social relationships. A man's vocational industry may give much value to his family, while his moral behavior may give much pain. His manners may give his associates a net amount of dissatisfaction, whilst his aggressiveness toward invaders may give large positive values in public security.

Social criticisms. Wherever and whenever social groups are formed, social valuations of individual members are incessantly being made. The courage of this man is fair, good, excellent, or "marvelous"; of that man, poor, contemptible, or infamous. The business rectitude of Brown is high, that of Jones, low. Patrick is a good mixer, a fine fellow; Sandy a dour and close curmudgeon. Ferguson minds his own business, Sullivan is a "buttinsky."

"The Grundys," public opinion, the press, and especially "persons of influence," and finally quasi-judicial agencies, soon produce "party," if not social, judgments. The "respectable" people of the neighborhood, or possibly the neighborhood as a whole, look upon the various Smiths as "shady," vagrant, thieving, immoral, or else as upright, thrifty, or "patterns of moral character." The police classify certain men as to criminal character; commercial agencies rate the credit of business concerns; and statutes are enacted discriminating the kinds of securities insurance companies may invest in.

Social valuations made from the vantage ground of any one kind of group naturally rank qualities heavily in terms of that group's interests. A young man's dress and manners are very important to his convivial associates, but of less relative importance to his employers unless these happen to need his services in making certain kinds of business contacts where personal presentableness avails much. A man of forty with his composite character is very differently valued respectively by his family, his club, his political party, his church, and his nation in time of stress.

We not only constantly thus "value" individuals; we also value groups of individuals, from cliques and sets to nations. The members of a certain family are all loose and mean, or the reverse; all the pupils in a certain school are given to cheating; the men of a certain geographic region are all prevailingly shiftless; the Adams and the Walsh families give prevailingly high-grade citizens; the business morality of Japanese is lower (some allege) than that of Chinese; the Irish are more superstitious than the Norwegians; Southern Italy yields fewer good citizens than the Valley of the Po; negroes are less moral than whites.

Biased valuations. These valuations also reflect heavily, of course, the interests and prepossessions of the group

making them. Confederates think of Federals as white-livered shopkeepers, whilst from the other side Confederates are looked upon as firebrands and slave drivers. Puritans are kill-joys to the theater-going crowd, whilst the opinion held by Puritans of actors and their associates passes easy description. Where material, moral, or political interests clash, valuations formed on either side are so heavily colored by feeling as to be largely unserviceable for sociological purposes.

These sweeping judgments are of course uncritical and often prejudiced. They are frequently formed, as Booker Washington once mildly complained, "by comparing the worst negro with the best white man." But they often reflect substantial realities; and we cannot escape the fact that to a very large extent they do govern social action — in reality, they are as yet often the only available means of guiding social action.

CRUDE SOCIAL VALUATIONS

Crude social valuations of the kind here illustrated have largely motivated the numerous attempts at civic education (as well as all other forms) heretofore developed. Illiterate voters are "bad or dangerous voters." Men who know nothing of the history of their country can hardly be expected to vote as true patriots. "Unamericanized" immigrants are certain to be undesirable citizens. Pupils who have learned no obedience to rules of law and order in schools will care little for the corresponding rules outside of schools. Men who, as children, learned nothing of self-government in schools will hardly understand its meaning in later years. Democracy is chronically short of the right kinds of leaders; hence we must publicly support high schools and state universities in order to provide sound political leadership. Music should be fostered in the public schools as a valuable

means of socialization. The foundation of good citizenship can be laid in the kindergarten. Teaching prospective voters to read is not in itself any guarantee of good civic behavior; somehow we must teach them *what* to read.

To this effect are numberless current tendencies to rank or grade either qualities expected or means of producing them. At best these rankings are indicated by terms of ethical derivation, and are always heavily affected by the subjective prepossessions of those making them. But these processes are not to be disparaged, except when better are demonstrably available. The social progress of the world to date has been achieved largely through just such crude refining of social judgments as lies back of recent American efforts to provide educationally for "better citizenship."

Scientific evaluations. If civic education is to be made more purposive and more efficient, it is necessary that processes of social valuation should become more exact. If objectives of civic education are to be derived chiefly from studies of the acceptable and unacceptable qualities now exhibited by adult citizens, we must find effective means of distinguishing and evaluating these qualities as now found not only in individuals but especially in definable groups of individuals.

In describing simple qualities a few gradings could well be used; and these would have much value if they merged the valuations of several competent judges. They would have still more value if the judgments thus combined came from sources representing different social backgrounds.

Thus three judges representing respectively the points of view of the police judge, the social worker, and the established business man could pass upon the "civic worth" of illiterate male negroes or recent Jewish immigrants or native American casual workers or high school teachers, all from 30 to 40 years of age. Given sufficient acquaintance with

the individuals judged, this small jury would probably, without much difficulty, agree in grading the individuals concerned into such classes as "excellent," "superior," "inferior," and "bad." Perhaps they could still more readily do this if, instead of being asked to grade them in terms of the highly composite quality "good citizenship," they were required to consider relatively various concrete qualities, such as "business probity," attention to voting, kind of political reading habitually done, volunteer efforts in social reform, and the like.

RELATIVE STANDARDS

But very soon the problem of relative standards would arise. Should all these citizens be measured by the same yardstick? When we say the handwriting of a seven-year-old child is "good," does the term denote the same kind and degree of excellence that would be similarly defined in the handwriting of a bookkeeper? The courage, staying powers, "punch," and pugilistic skills of a bantam fighter are graded by standards for "men of his class"; and in several important respects these will differ from the standards developed for heavyweights. From the standpoint of the expectations of society for civic conformity and civic initiative surely "college men in business," recent immigrant Russians, Western "owning" farmers, and migrating negro wage earners are in different classes. Perhaps in some ultimate scheme of social evaluation all the qualities of all members of society should be measured in some fundamental unit, as we now measure various forms of energy in the physical world; but for present purposes such an expectation is Utopian. We can only hope to refine upon and render more objective the standards, measures, and methods of social valuation now universally, even if roughly and partisanly, applied.

Another difficulty is very soon encountered when we seek to evaluate, not composites or resultants of civic qualities, but specific component qualities. We can readily rate these specific qualities; but how shall we value them in comparison with each other?

Suppose we are trying to "evaluate" the health of two men. The first is excellent in all respects except instep arches, which are graded "bad"; the second is excellent in all respects except for serious tubercular infection which causes him to be rated "bad" as to respiration or lungs or whatever is the "species" agreed upon. Obviously these two "bads" are not of equal seriousness. Somehow they must be weighted.

Similarly two negro laborers might be graded as respects a variety of social qualities — property honesty, interest in good voting, thrift, general sociability, etc. *A* is rated excellent in all qualities except the first, where the fact that he steals on all convenient occasions causes him to be rated "bad." *B* is rated excellent in all qualities except participation in voting, in which he is bad. Obviously these two vices are not equal as social liabilities — they also must be weighted by means not as yet well established.

Several initial stages in the processes of social valuation, first of individuals and then of groups of individuals, are now sufficiently established to be capable of profitable application. These stages include:

a. The selection of social groups that are reasonably homogeneous as respects the more prominent qualities that differentiate humans in objective society.

b. Analysis by experts of the qualities (in as concrete terms as practicable) that make up the composites finally to be evaluated as sources of educational objectives for this group, or for today's youth who are potential members of similar groups ten to forty years hence.

c. Weighting of these qualities for the group under consideration.

d. Evaluation of individuals in rating.

e. Assembly of individual ratings to obtain group ratings.

The process of deriving educational objectives from these valuations would entail additional problems. Let us assume that the purpose of this study is to determine objectives of civic education in schools for the oncoming generation. Our analysis reveals "prevailing defects" among adults. Some of these and some only would have been remediable by school education. Which? What can be done with or through other agencies? concurrently with school life? subsequent thereto?

WEIGHTING OF CIVIC QUALITIES

The more exact evaluation of civic worth requires first a classification of civic qualities (for the present the terms "virtue" and "vice" will be freely employed to designate approved and disapproved qualities respectively). Since every specific variety of human action is the resultant of a variety of influences, it is not practicable to devise categories that shall be entirely mutually exclusive. A man's health at times affects his moral behavior, his vocational powers, and his cultural interest. Under other circumstances any one of these may affect his health.

Nevertheless practical distinctions as made in everyday life are largely valid. A man's property honesty, patriotism in war-time, conservation of his own health, and interest in specified forms of culture are commonly viewed as relatively independent qualities. Doubtless they all derive from a common source or soil of inheritance, just as do so many organic compounds made up almost wholly of the four common elements, carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen. But from the standpoint of educational effort, once the con-

ditions imposed by "original nature" have been accepted, each of these qualities can be made the objective of training or other modifying effort.

The groupings of qualities found in men and women elsewhere proposed (pages 85-93) as a basis for analysis of educational objectives can serve as a starting point here — namely, the physical, vocational, social, and cultural. These are capable of much subdivision.

Contrasted social groups. For illustrative purposes let us assume that the civic worth of two somewhat contrasted groups of adults is to be estimated from the standpoint of the local or neighborhood *community*. The two groups selected will be men high school teachers, ages 30-50, and negro manual workers (in a Northern city) of the same ages. The total worth of each individual to the community will be rated on the basis of 10,000 plus or positive points for his virtues and 10,000 minus or negative points for his vices. The high standards of positive worth for each group will be those which neighborhood judgment commonly implies by such words as excellent, first class, A grade, best, or 100 per cent. Similarly the low standards of negative worth are expressed in social judgments as to "lowest grade," vicious, criminal, vagrant, "a thoroughly bad example," depraved, and the like.

The zero point of a virtue or a vice need not now concern us. We are simply trying to find provisional ratings for the purpose of somewhat refining everyday neighborhood judgments. We readily recognize the significance of the words a "first-class negro street sweeper" (in terms of vocational performance). Other workers in these groups we can grade or relate to these standards down to a point at which they would be found to be doing more harm than good by their alleged service, after which we could rate them by negative points.

A high school teacher, scrupulously observing the laws

of property, paying his debts to the full and the like, would rate up to excellent in this general virtue. But if he steals, fails to pay his debts, and in general flouts social needs for property honesty, he would be rated as of less than no positive worth—he would be a source of harm. For the present we may expect endless difficulties to arise from the tendency to confuse low positive ratings with negative ratings. It is, of course, evident that the “points” here used have no absolute values. Neither have the points used for different groups as now assigned any *comparative* values. And finally it must be evident that negative and positive points have no relative values to each other. These points only serve conveniently to indicate relative importance of the positive or negative qualities of one group to the others.

Standards. Since we are here concerned primarily with problems of social education, we need not dwell upon methods of allocating “points” to other than social qualities. Let us assume that from the standpoint of the community the relative importance, for both case groups under consideration, of the physical, vocational, cultural, and social qualities are indicated by the allotment of a total of 10,000 points for the positive and for the negative qualities respectively distributed as follows: physical, 1000 positive, 1000 negative; social, 5000 positive and 5000 negative; vocational, 3000 positive, 3000 negative; and cultural, 1000 positive, 1000 negative. In other words in an all-round first-class citizen (of optimum efficiency) from either group the relative importance, as measured, of course, in terms of social (or community) expectancy, of excellent health, excellent vocational ability, excellent culture, and excellent social behavior would be in the ratios indicated; whilst similarly the low depths of all-round badness (pessimism efficiency) would be similarly weighted as among the four types of qualities.

The next step is to form working classifications of social qualities. The first ready division is into the moral, the religious, and the civic qualities (as defined on pages 94-96). But a further analysis can profitably be made. The moral qualities chiefly affect men's "small group" relationships; but of these the family relationship possesses an importance in most communities equal to all others together. Hence our first division is into family morals and "other small group" morals.

Civic behavior readily reveals such divisions as: general observance of laws (civic conformity); upholding of civic ideals in all kinds of social intercourse; political party activity and voting; participation in reform or civic reconstruction activities, apart from political party service; giving of uncompensated political service; and national patriotism in its nonconformity aspects.

The following, then, is submitted as a provisional allotment of points (optimum and pessimum standards):

PROPOSED ANALYSIS AND WEIGHTING; STANDARDS FOR
CASE GROUPS M AND N

	Case Group M (Men High School Teachers)		Case Group N (Negro Manual Laborers)	
	Virtues	Vices	Virtues	Vices
Family morals	800	1000	1500	1000
Other small group morals	500	1000	1500	1500
Religion	500	500	300	500
Observance of laws . . .	200	1000	1000	1500
Promotion of civic ideals	1000	1000	100	100
Political activity	500	100	200	100
Reform work	500	100	100	100
Volunteer service	500	200	100	100
Patriotism	500	100	200	100

The next step would be to provide, through a jury of competent judges with somewhat unlike subjective standards, for the "rating" of individuals from each of these groups.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOCIETY'S NEED OF CIVIC EDUCATION

SOCIAL CONTROL

"SOCIAL control" is found by sociologists to have been a universal social process in human societies from their beginnings. Since men can only exist by and through some or many forms of group life; and since inherited instincts give in the main only vaguely shaped, even though powerful, impulses toward social action, it follows that those most vitally interested in all social groups shall in numberless ways shape and hold the young, the individualistic, and the short-sighted, steadily toward right types of conformity and service to the group. This is just as true of a boys' gang as of the state; of a club as of a business corporation; of a social party as of an army.

The nation, the municipality, and the neighborhood of associates, as inclusive social groups, have always presented great difficulties of social control because of the unlike qualities of the members. These groups necessarily include men and women, adults and children, the ignorant and the learned, the prosperous and the poor, the selfish and the generous. The industrious, peaceful, and law-abiding members must necessarily be protected or protect themselves from the idle, the predatory, the lawless. But to make the village permanently healthy, the municipality generally prosperous, and the nation able to defend itself, it is also necessary to prevent idleness, useless contentiousness, and lawlessness.

The means of social control adapted for these purposes have been all but numberless. On the one hand they include the coercions of custom, of religion, and of law. On the other are found the endlessly varied forms of appeal to good nature, intelligence, and desire for approval, all of which are

essentially educative. Just as medicine tends to become preventive rather than curative, so social control in nearly all kinds of groups, and especially in those having political functions, tends to become educative (or "attractive" in the earlier etymological sense of the term, as used by Lester F. Ward) rather than coercive.

There are many reasons why modern political groups need greatly improved and extended civic education of their members. These reasons fall mainly into four groups: (a) Modern political groups are becoming vastly more complex and intricate on the economic side. (b) We are demanding more of security, health, wealth, and the other means of happiness from our political groupings than ever before. (c) These groups are increasingly dynamic, changing, evolving, instead of static. (d) Under the ideals of democracy individuals and "small group" members are even more insistent in claiming the maximum of "self-realization" and self-determination.

Human beings are probably not now born into the world with greatly different or better social instincts and other qualities of "original nature" than were those of our savage ancestors of ten or fifty thousand years ago. Hence to make of these infants social men and women suited to the needs of complex civilization requires from the cradle to manhood and in some respects even to the grave, education of many specific kinds, as well as other more external means of control, such as laws, parties, and governments.

DEVELOPMENTAL CIVIC EDUCATION

Developmental education has in the evolution of the race been accomplished largely through extra-school agencies — especially the home, community group, shop, and church. A large part of this education has always resulted in the moral appreciations, habits, and ideals essential to group

harmony and solidarity. A portion of it might properly be called civic, especially in periods when war threatened or nation-building was in process.

Conquest and subjugation of peoples led several thousand years ago to the establishment, in the more habitable parts of the world, of *governing classes* or aristocracies. Direct civic education adapted to the prospective needs of rulers, leaders, and dispensers of justice naturally appeared. On the opposite side, the civic virtues of subordination, submission, and service were taught to the conquered, rarely in schools, but much through other agencies.

The evolution of republican government, built upon aspirations for democracy, general suffrage, and constitutionalism, has quite generally been accompanied by the promotion of public education. In large part this has been designed for civic ends. Literacy is conceived as the first essential; then history, with adjuncts of biography, patriotic song, and perhaps geography. Finally appear the beginnings of civics as a separate study.

What is now the need of more direct civic education in the United States than has heretofore been provided through the schools? For the present we answer this question largely on the basis of faiths and beliefs, and generally as partisans of a few, rather than of many kinds of, educational objectives. Our contemporary educational philosophy, built so extensively out of aspirations, gives little place to the serious treatment of *relative* educational values. Looking upon that vague composite, called education, as a social "good," it is easy to say "we cannot have too much education."

The partisans of special types of education are also prone to say "we cannot have too much of health education, or vocational, or musical, or linguistic, or historical" education, according to the color of their respective prepossessions. Under present conditions educational aims may be said to

be in constant competition, and the "fittest" survives — which often means the best advertised, or the very fashionable, or the most vigorously promoted.

Relative values. Fundamentally, of course, all questions of educational needs and values bring us to problems of *relative needs* and *relative values*. All education must be achieved under limiting conditions. Time is the most obvious of these. At the most it is only possible to claim from one thousand to two thousand hours of the child's time per year for from eight to fifteen years for school purposes. The educability of the child is another limiting factor. This is an extremely variable quantity, but even the most able or brilliant learner eventually reaches his limits. A third limitation is found in the resources wherewith parents and the state may *support* and *produce* education. Education can be achieved only through teachers working with such instrumentalities as subjects of study, texts, laboratories, and the like. Teachers are human instruments and their mechanical aids are never perfect. Their work must be paid for from the products of other labor — itself subject to limitations.

There was a time, perhaps, when the scope and variety of the offerings possible in schools were small because few "subjects" were well enough organized for school purposes. But that time has now gone by at all school levels. Even in the lowest grades many more objectives, all of demonstrable worth, can be set than it is possible to achieve within the limits of existing abilities, time, and pedagogic resources.

Hence the central problem in all studies of educational need today is not, "Is this thing needed?" — of any particular objective in hygiene, language, science, art, vocation, or culture; but, "Is it more needed than something else, the time and learning energy for which it would preempt?"

NEEDS FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

The conventional arguments in support of more and better civic education in our public schools can thus be again summarized:

a. Even under favorable conditions, and in comparatively simple societies, the individual receives only a very imperfect civic education from extra-school agencies. This is evidenced by the numbers of bad and incompetent citizens found in all primitive societies, and the never ending failures of these societies to organize, support, or stabilize good government and other forms of social control.

b. Even when this developmental civic education is supplemented by "a common school education," thus assuring quite general literacy and some appreciation of history and social geography, results are still far from satisfactory, as every modern state with a well-developed public school system testifies.

c. But the problems of finding and maintaining effective forms of governmental as well as of other "large group" mechanisms grow daily more complex. The functions of government, once largely restricted to defense, the conservation of internal order, and the administration of justice, now visibly multiply. The scope and intricacy of public policies increase in every direction. States enlarge, economic interdependence of widely separated geographic relationships assumes vital importance. Extension of suffrage has resulted in wide distributions of responsibilities for initiating, testing, and applying political policies, as well as for the selection of legislative and executive agents to carry them into practice.

d. The functions of public education have heretofore been excessively individualistic, rather than social. Schools have been designed chiefly to aid individuals to succeed in life rather than to help the state and other large social groupings to succeed. It becomes now the obligation of society to

extend and improve the social objectives of public education, of which civic education toward political competency is among the most important. The social science studies, as well as other means to this end, should therefore receive greatly increased emphasis.

e. The materials for civic education are now better organized and more available than ever before. Even history studies which, as heretofore taught, have probably functioned in civic ideals or enlightenment only to a slight extent (except possibly in the case of a few vigorous and aspiring minds) are now in process of fundamental pedagogic reorganization on a basis more calculated to give valuable results in civic education. Economics, heretofore an abstract and difficult body of knowledge, is being gradually given concrete and simple forms suited at least to secondary schools. Civil government, once essentially a study of political anatomy, is also being developed into applied and case forms of much concreteness and simplicity. It seems not improbable that other social sciences, including sociology itself, will soon be presented in forms suitable for use in school curricula.

f. A constantly increasing proportion of American children attend school between the years of 12 and 18 — the years of transition from childhood to adult estate, which are peculiarly suited to the establishment of civic appreciations and ideals, the fixing of at least some important civic habits and attitudes, and the communication of some salient facts of civic knowledge and enlightenment.

g. Finally, the number of students of college social sciences who could easily qualify to teach these subjects in schools increases constantly.

CONTEMPORARY ESTIMATES OF NEEDS

The aspirations and proposals thus summarized are found scattered voluminously throughout the contemporary litera-

ture of education. Unfortunately they are nearly all characterized either by vagueness or by unscientific derivation. The philosophical proposals are couched in very general terms. The programs, courses, texts, and pedagogic instrumentalities are apt to be opportunist, faddish, or too severely logical for successful presentation under American school conditions.

Account must be taken of the many serious defects in prevailing methods of estimating contemporary needs of civic education. Chief in importance probably is the failure to allow, in a sociological sense, for the educative effects of non-school agencies on persons of favoring heredity and good environment.

It is a commonplace that among the colonial settlers of America were many very good citizens. The circumstances preceding and following the American Revolution brought to the front many excellent citizens, some of whom were giants in their day. A large proportion of the men who gave their efforts, and in many cases their lives, to save the Union more than half a century ago were certainly good citizens.

We often allude to farmers as being the backbone of American citizenry. Well-led and patriotic groups of home-conducting women, of artisans, of business men, of racial or immigrant representatives everywhere attest to the vital potentialities in American life of making out of some children good citizens, quite without purposive civic education in schools. In spite of our misgivings, we found that a large proportion of the men and women called upon for service in the Great War were sound not only in body, but in patriotic citizenry as well.

The sociological fact is, of course, that in any group of adults, differentiated on any other than purely moral and civic grounds, there will be found some exceptionally good, some very bad, and many average citizens. No class or

other social group has now a monopoly either of civic virtue or of civic vice, nor will it have after we shall have developed a thoroughgoing program of civic education through the schools. Some very good citizens, made such by their environment and a favoring heredity, will be found among "owning farmers," village handymen, domestic servants, men high school teachers, unskilled negro laborers, women very wealthy by inheritance, frontiersmen, recently immigrated Norwegians, bank presidents, half-nomadic tenant farmers, college professors, and ministers. Bad citizens, too, will be found in all these groups.

THE USE OF THE CASE GROUP STUDY OF NEEDS

The social efficiency of a people in its political activities is largely determined not by the fact that bad citizens are found in all its component groups, but by their proportions in various groups, and especially in those of greatest civic influence. If large proportions of our ministers, owning farmers, merchants, college-educated men, women of good family extraction, skilled artisans, school teachers, and well-educated negroes were venal, anarchistic, or insurrectionary in their citizenship, then would our social state be bad indeed. We can stand a few anarchists among recent immigrants or migratory manual laborers, and some grafters in our political slums, so long as the more vital parts of our social body are strong and healthy enough to resist infection.

Hence, as stated elsewhere, the first step in the scientific study of the need of better civic education requires that we should evaluate citizenship as we now have it. The superficial man, of course, forms judgments on individual instances. Because a half-crazed vagrant assassinates President McKinley, the public schools are denounced. Because an occasional immigrant acts the anarchist, all immigrants

are blackened as citizens. Some negroes (often with more white than black blood) sell their votes or support corrupt leaders, and all negroes are condemned therefor.

We shall not be on sound ground here until we apply statistical methods to our problems of civic need. The method will not prove simple, although at every stage now we should practice in making estimates, if we can school ourselves to hold them always as tentative. For example, there are over 25,000 men teachers in the high schools of the United States. As a class or group what kind of citizens are they? Do they stand high in the conformist virtues of respectability, compliance with laws, good example? Do they rank low in the virtues of civic initiative? Even in their conformist virtues do they rank as high as society has a right to expect from persons of their fortunate heredity, educative environment, and social position?

Set against these the numerous young women from 18 to 25 years of age found in some Eastern manufacturing city. Wherein do they show "prevailing" civic virtues? What proportion probably "sell" their votes? What proportion vote on the wrong side of important public questions? What proportion break laws established for the protection of property, the family, public order? What are reasonable standards which society should expect them to reach in virtues of civic initiative? What proportion fail to reach these standards?

Other social groupings should be similarly studied. It may prove most convenient at first to take these on a vocational basis, since vocational preferences or compulsions are often determined by factors of intelligence, family rearing, general education, race, recency of immigration, and habitat. But we must not differentiate on economic lines too exclusively. We must sooner or later answer, with some particularization, such questions as these: (a) Are women

prevailingly worse or better citizens than men of the same education? as respects what civic qualities? (b) Are negroes in the Northern states better or worse citizens than whites of the same ability, education, and economic opportunity? (c) Do Italians or Hungarians give the larger proportion of "good" conforming immigrant citizens under similar environing conditions? (d) Are urban or rural dwellers the better citizens at similar economic and educational levels? (e) Do men of high native intelligence make proportionately better citizens than the poorly endowed? (f) How do men of strictly orthodox religious faiths compare with agnostics of the same intelligence and environmental levels as regards qualities of civic conformity? civic initiative?

AVOIDING EXCESSIVE ABSTRACTNESS

In view of the diversities here suggested, it would seem to be an excess of simplification and abstractness to generalize about "the citizen." As well generalize about "the religious man" without reference to creed or denomination, "the immigrant" without reference to antecedent conditions, or the "gainfully employed" with no further indication of status or productivity. Citizenship, in the practical sociological sense, is to be measured finally by standards of specific performance; and that must vary greatly according to age, sex, ability, educative environment, vocational pursuit, and many other factors. The needs of civic education, as well as effective contributions to it, and especially those "residual" needs toward which contributions are possible from schools, can be expected to vary hardly less.

There is a second very conspicuous weakness in current discussions of the need of civic education. It appears whenever the abstract terms "the child" and "the pupil" are used. It carries unavoidably the assumption that all children are of equal "educability," if the word may be per-

mitted. Here the only road to sane evaluations is something resembling the "case group" method of approach. A few further examples will serve as illustrations.

A. In any urban elementary school can be found substantial proportions of boys of whom the following facts are true enough for all practical purposes of providing school curricula: They are over 12 years of age; they are from one to four grades retarded; their inherent intelligence is below average; they are well developed physically; their home environment is crude; they show little interest or ability in the more abstract studies; they are very social among themselves, inclining toward "clan" standards of loyalty and community sentiments; they have real interests in manual work and team sports; the ambitions of themselves and their parents point not at all toward professional or even commercial careers; they may be expected to become manual workers, leaving school as soon as the law permits. As adults most of these boys will be fair "conforming" citizens; but they will develop few initiatory civic virtues; and they will frankly disclaim ability to comprehend the intricate questions so frequently arising for civic consideration and decision.

B. Contrast with these a somewhat smaller proportion of girls found in the same elementary schools; they are from 10 to 14 years of age and are all in the seventh and eighth grades; they are intellectually keen and ambitious; they come from favoring home environments, and will almost certainly finish high school, if not college or professional school; they are especially able in abstract studies, and somewhat disdainful of manual work; they and their parents are very sensitive to public opinion, unwilling to give excuse for criticism, and almost ultra-conformist in their morality. Lofty civic ideals can easily be communicated to these girls, though their civic performance in adult

years will often show less initiative than might be expected.

From the standpoint of their respective possibilities of civic education these two case groups are manifestly no less unlike than will be their respective contributions toward civic life in their adult years. To the first group much of the material contained in our textbooks of civics must remain largely "Greek." As adults they will, indeed, develop their own sources and standards of civic action no less than the other group, but on what a very different basis! In face of these potential differences, how naïve and fruitless seem many of our generalizations as to what should be done with and for "the pupil," "the child!"

THE DIRECTION OF SPECIALIST SERVICE

What are the respective responsibilities of the leadership of expert service and of followership in the conduct of the state and other "large group" social organizations? Failure adequately to analyze the elements of this problem is the third conspicuous defect in current aspirational discussions of the need of civic education.

In the non-political affairs of life men take action, in all those complicated situations toward which they are not themselves specialists, only under the guidance of specialists. Few of us are well qualified as physicians, bookkeepers, watch repairers, preachers, teachers, or printers. Our needed work in these and scores of other fields we "hire" done for us. The optimum measure of education for us in these fields probably consists in making us able to appreciate and discover the right kind of service or service products.

In certain areas of political service the same principle is now consciously applied. The citizens of well-governed cities employ, directly or indirectly, expert or specialist service to provide their water, keep their public service accounts, police their streets, teach in their schools, advise

them in legal difficulties, control their epidemics, and manage their public hospitals. The citizens of the nation similarly have specialists to direct their defense, develop public irrigation systems, transact international business, administer justice, coin money, and conduct the mail service.

But policies of municipal, provincial, or national action must be passed upon by all citizens alike. Theoretically, each man is expected to be a qualified judge in problems of tariffs, treaties, issue of money, forest conservation, public land disposal, military service, mail carriage, street formation, treatment of delinquents, and public education. Practically we know, of course, that comparatively few citizens have ability, information, or time adequately to consider intricate questions of public policy. Practically they are usually guided by the opinions of others whom in one sense or another they regard as leaders — editors, party spokesmen, economists, or neighbors.

Education for utilization. Thus we come to the problem of the citizen as "utilizer" of expert service. It is obvious that herein lie some of the most complex situations affecting civic education, especially as that aims to promote the virtues of civic initiative. In certain respects comparable problems are found in medicine. Each adult should be educated to live hygienically, but also, under many conditions, to submit to expert service. No man can successfully decide for himself for what specific purposes he needs a dentist, oculist, surgeon, or general diagnostician. But he must usually himself decide when he shall seek expert service and to whom he will go. Are we as yet successfully educating our youth toward the adequate performance of these last functions?

In the fields of political and related activities analogous forms of education must eventually be developed. The large majority of citizens can no more be trained to assemble data and to derive sound conclusions with reference to the

complicated economic, fiscal, justiciary, educational, sumptuary, and other social problems now increasingly falling within the purview of government, than they can be trained to provide their own dental, ocular, and surgical service or to diagnose obscure diseases. Somehow citizens must be so educated in civic matters that they will know when and where to rely upon conclusions reached by themselves, and under what circumstances to seek the guidance of experts. Of special importance, of course, is any education in appreciation and knowledge that will qualify them to select and use the right experts. The following are sample problems:

a. It is known in the state of New York that a large sum of money will be asked from the next legislature for the forestation of a hilly tract of state land in a mountainous part of the state. An enabling amendment to the state constitution is to be voted upon at a general election. A number of farmers in the Mohawk Valley want guidance as to how to vote. They know little about problems or results of artificial forestation, and they know the state is now burdened by taxation. To whom shall they go for information? State officials? The National Department of Agriculture? Certain college professors? Editors? Public school men? Hunters? Lumbermen and paper company experts?

b. A strong effort is being made to impose high protective tariffs on dyestuffs. These were almost exclusively made in Germany before the war, but many factories were developed in the United States during the war. A group of citizens wish to use the influence of their ballots and opinion in promoting policies which shall be good for America and fair to the rest of the world. By whose advice shall they be guided? Editors? Technical experts in chemistry? Chemical manufacturers? Textile manufacturers in America? College professors of economics? Whom else?

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE OBJECTIVES OF CIVIC EDUCATION

METHODS OF DETERMINATION

BEFORE effective programs of civic education can be devised for given age levels and school conditions, it is indispensable that we have clearly defined specific objectives, so differentiated that it will prove easy to discover experimentally at what age levels and by what methods they can best be realized. As indicated elsewhere, these objectives can best be derived from concrete studies of the observed performances of social case groups in governmental or other forms of collective action.

For the purpose of setting the problems of objective clearly before us let us assume: (a) that in all of the normal adult social groups that will first be studied the majority of members are at least fairly good citizens; (b) that throughout all groups will be found some *common* civic defects (hereafter called *shortages of civic virtue*) characteristic of nearly all the members; and (c) that in each group will be found shortages somewhat peculiar to that group.

Civic shortages. How shall these *shortages* be measured or even accurately described? It must be remembered that sociology has as yet devised few tests or measures of *relative social values*. Nevertheless, as indicated in an earlier chapter, it is certain that men have always followed the practice of rating their fellows, individually and collectively, as to their practice of civic and other virtues. We speak of men as good or bad citizens, as patriotic or the reverse, as devoted or niggardly in public service. The terms "grafter," "slacker," "bribe-taker," "profiteer," "anarchist," and scores of others signifying social opprobrium are applied to individuals; whilst the excessive prevalence of such indi-

viduals in a group gives rise to such phrases as "a politically corrupt city," "the prevalence of law-breaking," "political indifferentism," "degraded citizenry," "bureaucratic rule," and numberless others.

In the absence of other means it is practicable to refine upon and reduce to scientific procedure many of these characterizations. For purposes of this chapter we may employ the crude process, previously discussed, of consolidating the evaluations of several judges representing different fields of experience. Assume five men, one a professor of political science, one a state legislator of long experience, one a Superior Court judge, one an artisan, and one a merchant, asked to study the practices of citizenship found in certain designated groups.

In trying to determine the prevalent civic "shortages" of various groups these men might use as standards of comparison (a) past practices in similar groups, (b) contemporary practices in comparable groups, or (c) demonstrably practicable ideals or standards now held by the well informed.

For example, take venality in voting among small farmers. In a given situation in State X, is venality more common there than it is among similar people in State Y? Is it demonstrable that such venality is far more excessive than it would be if suitable special civic education and supervision were provided? Similar comparisons could be instituted as to: war-time "slacking"; corruption in public work; inefficient legislation; support of education; prevalence of needed forms of coöperation; and scores of other more or less prevalent civic shortages.

DETERMINATION OF "CIVIC SHORTAGES"

Only provisional inferences can now be made as to the prevailing shortages upon which the jury would agree at

this time. We can, however, readily imagine their report taking this form:

a. Among the citizens of all the groups studied there is found less of some specific forms of political idealism than is found in certain other republics (e.g., Switzerland). It is practically certain that such forms of idealism could be produced by civic education under aims and methods now clearly defined. These forms of idealism include, specifically, those relating respectively to (1) the help of lay citizens in reducing crime, (2) the speedy and inexpensive rendering of justice, (3) general exercise of suffrage, and (4) harsh and unfair criticisms of public officials.

Against these shortages might be noted recent advances in ideals and practices relative to: (1) the efficient performance of that public work which readily lends itself to simple engineering standards, as water supply and road construction; (2) theft of public funds; (3) patriotic service under pressure of war; and (4) character of men selected for executive offices.

b. Among the citizens of all groups is found unnecessarily poor scientific understanding of those economic facts and principles that now largely give rise to political action — unnecessarily poor, that is, in view of present simplification of economic science and of the multiplied attendance now found in secondary schools and colleges, where it is demonstrably practicable to teach these subjects effectively.

c. Unpaid political service must always be expected chiefly from the citizens who have had the advantages of secondary and collegiate schooling. But comparison with former eras or certain other countries shows a serious prevalence in America of unwillingness on the part of the best-educated groups to take responsibilities of unpaid office. It is believed that the provision in secondary schools and colleges of special teaching service and courses can in a measure produce improvements here.

d. International relationships become yearly more intricate and more vital to the public welfare. But here again only men of considerable education are in a position to possess the necessary information for sound judgments. Others of less education must be largely influenced by their judgments. But it appears that men of secondary and higher education fall lower both in comprehension of international matters and in disposition to promote international harmonies than is desirable and probably feasible if something more of time and effort were given to these ends in secondary schools and colleges.

e. Among artisan workers it is found that certain economic doctrines are held which are unsupported by scientific evidence. For example, they hold that "labor is the only source of wealth," meaning that in corporation production the factors of capital (seeking interest) and organization and risk-taking (seeking profits) are not directly productive and therefore are unessential. They also fail to distinguish between money as currency (measure of exchange values) and money as wealth (especially capital), thus giving rise to much confusion in political discussion and action.

The jury is of the belief that it is practicable and very desirable to provide, perhaps in lieu of the nonessential arithmetic now taught in junior high schools, a simplified economics especially designed to promote the formation of sound conceptions in these clearly defined fields.

f. The owning farmers of the North Mississippi Valley states are in general good citizens. But by admissions of their own best-informed members their most pronounced general civic defect at present is a failure to enter into those forms of public and voluntary coöperation which modern economic conditions seem to necessitate, such as road building, coöperative buying and selling, the joint ownership of expensive and occasionally used tools, and

community provision of facilities for diversion and recreation.

It is believed that provision of a variety of very simple and concrete readings in rural schools, such readings to be promoted by teachers in the homes as well as in the schools, would largely correct these defects in the next generation.

Many other general and special case situations could thus be studied by expert committees. Tendencies to be constantly guarded against are, obviously: (1) to pursue vague Utopian ideals of social well-being; (2) to fail to take account of positive and valuable qualities now found; (3) to judge a class or social group by its worst members; (4) to propose objectives, the practicability of which is still very questionable. But it is clear that the method of social inquiry here proposed would gradually produce for school use a variety of concrete and feasible objectives toward realizing which through didactic instruction, development readings, service projects, and the like definite experimental work could be undertaken.

CIVIC SHORTAGES IN SOCIAL CLASSES

The objectives of civic education might be sought from another direction. What are some of the specific weaknesses — diseases or defects, if we like — of our social life? Upon whom — class or group — in the first instance does responsibility for these rest? Can these defects be corrected in the next generation?

Sharp distinctions must, of course, be made between those alleged defects or social shortages which are only believed to be such by certain experts or enthusiasts, and those others as to which there is general agreement. For example, some persons greatly favor public measures to conserve or increase wild game. But the value of wild game to society is still far from clear, except in a few specific respects. A

party forms to protect from private exploitation certain forests or waterfalls. But it may still be very uncertain as to whether the æsthetic values of these in the natural state outweigh the values that would accrue from their practical utilization. Hundreds of problems of public policy as to parks, water supply, specialized forms of education, public control of utilities, immigration, finance, control of commerce, and the like must remain for years perhaps in the limbo of "party" discussion and propaganda, participation in which on the part of schools may have to be very greatly limited.

We need the development of methods by which a large variety of generally agreed-upon social valuations can be given concrete interpretation in such definite forms that defects or shortages can be traced to the social groups most responsible. For example:

a. It is desirable that all qualified citizens should vote in elections.

(1) Only a small proportion of the citizens of Community A vote. It is found that the causes are political apathy. Procedures for correction necessary in the next generation should take what form?

(2) In Community B a few men and many women vote. Causes? Proposed corrections?

(3) Traveling men and others away from home cannot vote. Remedies to be found in other than educational means?

b. It is desirable that country villages should be physically and morally "clean." First, very clear definition of practical and "sane" standards is necessary. Then, in terms of these standards:

(1) Villages A and B are needlessly below par. Are educational objectives in schools practicable for corrective purposes?

c. It is desirable that all urban and village communities should have pure water supplied by public or private corporation. Standards need definition, and these judged as practical under various topographic and drainage conditions.

(1) The provision of pure water in large cities is now so largely a direct engineering enterprise, and standards of demand on part of the public are so well established, that no vital educational problem for city schools is found here.

(2) Rural villages in flat regions frequently still have very defective water supplies. Means of correcting these defects are well known. Specific civic educational objectives can readily be devised.

d. In time of actual or threatened war against our country, certain new attitudes and activities are very much needed. Concrete definitions are needed of areas of freedom of criticism of officials; spending on luxuries; submission to government orders; volunteer service, etc.

(1) Group A (defined) has had in America no opportunity to acquire right ideals or ideas in this field. What educational objectives are suggested? What for Group B, which is chiefly old American stock?

e. (Hundreds of other similar devices of diagnostic analysis can be readily provided.)

HOW TEACH PRINCIPLES?

A caution is necessary at this point. There will be those to urge that the objectives of civic education must be formulated largely in terms of *principles*, and that the first aim of the schools shall be to teach these principles. This brings us to one of the worst forms of *pons asinorum* over which educators stumble. Dearly loved by the pedantic mind is the teaching of "principles." For centuries we have been attempting it in mathematics, philosophy, and classic literatures, and for many decades at least in natural sciences,

graphic art, and the social sciences, including ethics. But educators who rely heavily upon the teachings of principles find themselves always more or less defeated in their efforts.

Different mental types. It seems very probable that current psychology still interprets this field of pedagogy inadequately and badly. It may be, for example, that certain types of mind, perhaps certain grades of intellectual ability, acquire vital and enduring comprehensions of *principles* from the study of a few vivid cases or examples; whilst other types of mind can build them only laboriously from wide ranges of concrete experience. It may be that under some conditions of "*learning interest*" or "*will to learn*," where, perhaps, emotions are heavily involved, or instinctive learning appealed to, or authority brings pressure to bear, a very few experiences or cases will suffice to give effective mastery of principles, whereas under other conditions numberless instances may result in only verbal and largely unusable mastery.

In view of the well-known futility of much contemporary teaching of grammar, social science, natural science, mathematics, and fine art, where important goals are the early mastery of principles, teachers of the civic subjects would be well advised if they would develop, as freely as circumstances permit, inductive methods of approach, involving abundant use of case instances and concrete problems.

ADAPTATIONS OF OBJECTIVES TO GROUPS OF LEARNERS

As stated above, the large determining objectives of civic, as of other forms of education, must be sought in the first instance from a study of social needs, especially as these manifest themselves among adults. But these objectives cannot be made the bases of school programs until they shall have been selected and adapted to the educational possibilities of various levels or other groupings of learners.

Some phases of civic education can probably be well begun in the kindergarten, whilst others are appropriate only in the later grades of the liberal arts college. The junior high school offers excellent opportunities for some kinds of civic training, whilst bright pupils from 16 to 18 years of age ought to prove readily responsive to methods of "problem solving" in economic and other similar fields. Very probably we shall find that it is quite futile to try to impart certain kinds of civic knowledge to children of sub-average intelligence between the ages of 12 and 15, whereas for those of relatively high intelligence much can be done in guiding insight into fairly complex problems. On the basis of present experience it seems fairly probable:

a. That in children of ages 4 to 9 can be developed many varieties and substantial depths of civic appreciation and idealism by means of festivals, patriotic songs, flag saluting, lives of noteworthy men, women, and even children, stories of adventure, etc. Properly devised commemorative festivals, readings, music, excursions, all being of the developmental class of objectives, can be made to render excellent service.

b. That very concrete forms of community civics — experience getting and interpreting — can be profitably studied by children from 9 to 12 years of age. During these years processes of developing civic appreciations and ideals can be further developed.

c. That the years from 12 to 15 seem especially valuable for the varieties of activity developed under scouting. Probably they are very suitable, too, for the production of civic idealism, through reading of the materials of history and study of simple concrete problems of economics, especially those having visible projections into their environment.

These are the years of the junior high school. The tendency in this school, it can hardly be doubted, will be

in the direction of increasing flexibility, and adaptation of studies to different grades of ability and prospects. It will certainly prove possible at this level to provide certain fairly complex units of study in economics, political and other civic problems for pupils of super-average intelligence; whilst for pupils of sub-average intelligence somewhat similar purposes may have to be realized through concrete "experience giving" — via the project method.

KINDS OF OBJECTIVES OF CIVIC EDUCATION

For many purposes it will prove advantageous to divide the objectives of civic education into two fundamental classes: (a) the developmental and (b) the projective, or the "beta-alpha" classification used in educational sociology.

During their school lives children are steadily *growing* into *civic* appreciations, knowledge, habits, ideals. Schools can recognize, and in a measure guide, retard, accelerate, or otherwise modify these growth processes according to desire. They can provide *new* nurtural materials for such growth through story, reading, school-initiated activity, school controls. Under many of the objectives suggested later in this book it must be remembered that children will achieve *some kinds* of valuable results whether the school takes part or not.

For example, all growing youths learn from their environment to admire heroic personages (heroic by the standards of whatever social influences the learners are subject to), to "believe in" certain public policies, to distrust certain social agencies, to hope for certain types of social action, etc. In many cases these appreciations, attitudes, beliefs, forms of knowledge, and the like will be "small-group centered," unpatriotic, tribal, or otherwise wrong. The function of the school, therefore, is to substitute sound (and, in some instances, corrective) means of social development.

Some of these developmental objectives therefore may be of this character:

- a.* Wholesome forms of "hero-appreciation."
- b.* Wholesome appreciations of our social accomplishments, such as (1) liberty, (2) abolition of slavery, (3) trial by jury, (4) peace, and (5) republican institutions.
- c.* Wholesome appreciations of founders, men who have contributed to the building of our present structures such as (1) pioneers, (2) warriors, (3) inventors, and (4) reformers.

CHAPTER NINE

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

AMERICAN government has from its colonial beginnings rested increasingly on bases of politically democratic aspirations and ideals. A large proportion of Americans have consciously sought to conserve and even to extend the social democracy arising spontaneously from the primitive conditions of frontier settlement. At least some forms of religious democracy have also been deliberately fostered. There finally arises keen interest in so-called industrial democracy.

A sound system of civic education will, in America, naturally aim to promote the aspirations and practices of political democracy. A good system of social education will also do what is practicable under present stages of social evolution to prepare the young to contribute to, and participate in, the various other forms of democracy.

Theories. Of the making of books on democracy there has been no end. Many phases of the subject are still philosophically and sociologically obscure. To the practical man it appears that not a few of the ideals of democracy are hopelessly at variance with the realities of mundane life. Hence no matter how complete any system of social education may be, there will remain numberless problems of democracy which are still so speculative that only the few keenest minds can hope to attack them profitably.

For educational purposes, therefore, it is necessary that the conditions, faiths, facts, and uncertainties regarding democracy be given detailed analysis and arranged in some rough order of authoritative approval and acceptance. If substantial agreement of those who must finally dictate educational policies can be had as to certain general principles, then these can in proper season be made the basis of the selection of concrete objectives of instruction. The

following sociological analysis is submitted as such a basis for proposed specific courses of instruction, training, and practice of social education in so far as that bears on the increase and conservation of democracy.

SOCIOLOGICAL CONDITIONS OF DEMOCRACY

Differences among men. By some standards of comparison the members of *genus homo* are very much alike and by other standards they differ much among themselves.

No two normal human beings differ so much in bodily structure from each other in their maturity as each does from a horse or an eagle. The differences between a Bantu and an Englishman as regards speech powers are less great than the differences between each and an ape or a buffalo.

The poorest normal Digger Indian has mental powers, æsthetic appreciations, and a stock of customs which bring him much closer to the professional engineer than the possessions of the chimpanzee bring him to the Digger.

When, therefore, we discuss human inequalities or differences it is important to remember that these, while of very great momentousness by human standards, are of less weight by ordinary biological standards of measurement.

Varieties in homogeneity. Among the members composing any social group we find many resemblances and many differences. Certain groups are deliberately formed of persons very much alike in some respects — football teams, political parties, worshiping groups. In others certain elements of heterogeneity are a necessary condition — the family, an industrial corporation, a village.

But in all natural groups numerous and often great inequalities are found. Some of these — due to age, sex, hereditary qualities, habitat — are said to derive from natural conditions; whilst others are traceable principally to human agencies.

a. **The young** usually possess physical, mental, and social powers inferior to the mature. Normally, therefore, the young are subordinate, and liable to possible abuse, exploitation, suppression. The very aged, also, become inferior to the middle-aged in physical, mental, and other powers.

b. **Women** are natively inferior to men of the same ages, during mature years, in physical strength, mobility, and the mental qualities associated with aggression against animals and hostile men. Women probably surpass men in social qualities of sympathy, æsthetic response, and ready subordination to minute routine work. Cultures intimately rooted in conditions of war and hunting give aggressive men endless opportunities to subjugate, oppress, overwork, and repress women, which disabilities are only slowly removed, as such cultures shake off war influences.

NATURE'S LIMITATIONS

c. **The earth's surface** only in portions offers optimum material environment for means of development. Climates can be too cold or too warm, too dry or too humid, too variable or too uniform to give maximum development of the individual, even apart from conditions of dietetic nurture or shelter. The frigid zones, the lowlands of the torrid zone, the deserts, the regions of heavy persistent rainfall, a Siberia where barometric variability is slight — these seem to develop man poorly, as contrasted with those sections of the temperate zones where cold and heat, not extreme, rapidly alternate, and where dry days and humid days rapidly succeed each other. In lesser degree, topographical conditions seem to affect development. It has, for example, long been believed that, under primitive conditions, mountain, seashore, and desert folk are more rugged, enduring, and mobile than plainsmen. (But these conclusions need further examination of occupational concomi-

tants.) Of more importance to modern social development (of large numbers and of differentiated occupations) is the fact that natural resources of food and tools are distributed very unevenly. Only four regions seem to possess the combined stores of coal and iron necessary for modern war or industrial development. Only limited areas can now produce on the gigantic scales required by civilized society wheat, meat, cotton, rubber, oil, copper, rice, sisal.

Historically, peoples of favored regions have been able, by virtue of superior qualities of their individual members, superior numbers, or superior organization, to dominate (with resulting extermination, enslavement, and oppression — economic, political, religious, cultural) peoples of adverse environment. Some of the profounder problems of democracy today involve correction of these oppressions.

d. Racial differences. Probably many generations of natural and eugenic selection under differing environments produce finally inherent or racial superiorities and inferiorities which no cultural agencies can now offset. It is certain that Chinese and Japanese are of less stature than Western Europeans and that the skull size of certain tropical groups is small. It may or may not be true that Ainus, Dravidians, Maoris, Diggers, and Bushmen represent inferior stocks when contrasted with Manchus, Sikhs, Sioux, Kaffirs. Many thinkers believe that Goth, Teuton, and Norman represent a Nordic race superior in most essentials to the Negro or American Indian races. But the harmonizing of the apparent inequalities of these racial groups certainly presents practical problems for future world-statesmanship.

e. Family variabilities. Within every family persons of the same apparent heredity are born with widely varying qualities — brothers differ as respects physical size, strength, mental abilities, æsthetic appreciations, social plasticities, dominance of sensual instincts, etc. Similarly, within com-

munities of substantially similar stocks, individuals appear of all grades of native superiority and inferiority. Army and other intelligence tests seem confirmatory of this conclusion.

f. **A neighborhood group** often shows a condition under which superior heredity tends to repeat in the same family group, and especially when favored by selective mating, thus giving local (as against conquering) aristocracies. The aggrandizing tendencies of these lead to need of social restraints in the interest of the weaker.

g. **Variations in factors of social heredity** — stored wealth, possession of strategic vocations, superior education — tend similarly, even apart from advantages of native heredity, to accumulate and be transmitted in certain family, caste, or other local groups, thus again eventually necessitating collective interference in interests of social justice.

h. **Such collective correction** becomes especially necessary when variations in respect to native or social inheritance tend to crystallize into institutional forms — hereditary rulers, priesthoods, crafts, landowners, traders; or, in effect, to become monopolies of certain kinds of learning, culture, sumptuary right, economic direction, etc.

WHAT IS OLIGARCHY?

The numberless inequalities among human beings have always given rise to certain opposed tendencies which will here be contrasted as the “oligarchic” and the “democratic.”

“To him that has shall be given; while from him that has not shall be taken away even that which he has,” is the text of oligarchy, as it is often, indeed, that of nature, where not offset by coöperative or other socially protective instincts. Social groups have advanced and enlarged partly by curbing, training, organizing, governing, and working individuals or subordinated groups of individuals. That

inclusive collective group now called "the state" claims, of course, very extensive rights here, justified partly on the ground that it has the sanction of the majority, the "safety of the republic being the supreme law." Any tendency in group activity to give to the mature, the strong, the learned, the highly ranked, the masculine (or feminine), the wealth-holding, or the naturally able, large powers of control, direction, sumptuary advantage, and the like can be regarded as oligarchic (without, of course, now raising the question as to whether in the long run the kinds and degrees of superordination thus established are good or evil). Similarly any tendency to subordinate an individual or a subject group because of inferiorities of strength, intelligence, co-operativeness, productivity, and the like will be called oligarchic. In a strictly social sense, the term can best be restricted to man-made conditions, accentuating or prolonging inequalities deriving from natural causes.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

The term "democracy" is used to include all tendencies on the part of man to compensate for the inequalities imposed by nature as well as, of course, the correction of those due to human action. Within any group systematic effort can be made through individuals or collective action to assist, liberate, upbuild, and exalt inferior or subordinated individuals or sub-groups. In recent decades it has come to be strongly held as a faith that "more democracy" is not only a social "good" for individuals, but a necessary means to "larger group efficiency" — that is, "in the long run."

We can assume that the "greatest good of the greatest number" is the final justification of democracy, and determines its desirable limits, subject, possibly, to corrections: (a) from certain Christian tenets that each human soul

is infinitely precious and that earthly inequalities are wholly negligible as against heaven-destined perfections; and (b) certain philosophic tenets that the "individual" is primarily an "end" in himself rather than a "means" to society or to the collective good of many other individuals.

Oligarchy and democracy have been designated "social tendencies." But the "values" of these tendencies, now held in part as instincts and partly as faiths, must ultimately be determined from whatever scientific sources shall give us standards of other social values. All social groups require something of oligarchy — and they can easily get too much; and they all require something of democracy — and perhaps of it also they can get too much. In their present stages of evolution most societies move steadily toward certain kinds of democracy — at least, democracy in certain functions — and perhaps they move away from it as respects others. They can best be understood from the analysis of specific social situations.

The struggle between group and individual is, of course, ancient and inherent. It is always possible for the individual — child, soldier, employee — to foster his own interests at the expense of the group — at least what he for the moment conceives to be his interests of pleasure, survival, liberty, wealth. The selfish member of the family, the grasping partner, the shirking employee, the craven soldier, the venal voter, the idler, and the monopolist are always doing this.

On the other hand it is no less common for the group unduly to coerce, overwork, mentally cramp, suppress, or otherwise subjugate the individual. Families, clans, churches, armies, autocracies, labor unions, industrial organizations, and even the state have done this repeatedly. Especially have they done it through oligarchical agencies or mob control, to children, women, conquered peoples, aliens, the

unintelligent, the unorganized, the poor, the unaggressive, and the like.

SOCIAL REPRESSIONS

Undemocratic repression of individuals handicapped by natural inferiorities may, under primitive or simple social conditions, be somewhat offset by:

a. Instinctive and custom-bred sympathies of parents and other elders for youngers, leading to protection, education, encouragement of individual development.

b. Filial and community sympathies with aged, sick, and otherwise incapacitated.

c. Women's abilities to win affection, to enlist chivalry, and sometimes to inspire fear, from men, especially in domestic and vocational fields in which man does not habitually operate.

d. "Protected harbor" occupations, evolved by subdivision of labor, into which individuals of inferior gifts fit quite comfortably.

e. The conjoining of leadership of the strong with followership of the weak in bands, companies, gangs, and unions, thus insuring, especially to the weak, the maximum of possible opportunity for self-realization.

f. Defensive unions developed by the inferior, in which numbers and organization produce offensive powers sufficient to insure some independence.

g. The retreat of the weak to environments — mountain, island, desert, slum — where competition with the strong is less pressing.

Collective social efficiency. But, in advanced stages of social evolution, possibilities of exploitation of weak individuals, weak groups, or weak stocks become great; while needs of "large group" social efficiency, as well as altruistic pursuit of "ideals of justice," progressively increase demands for removal of "man-imposed" repressions of the weak, as

well as reasonable mitigation of nature-imposed inferiorities. To these ends are addressed: (*a*) concerted efforts of self-protecting organizations of the oppressed; (*b*) efforts of philanthropic bodies (including religious and voluntary political) on behalf of others than themselves (and perhaps using education, political action, and force); and eventually (*c*) the efforts of the state itself, led thereto by its persuaded rulers or ruling majority. A thousand hard-won achievements, contemporary "movements," and slowly crystallizing social ideals of this character may all be generalized as "modern" democracy. Some examples are:

a. Parental interests and unorganized social sympathies with childhood do not always suffice to insure the "fair start in life" which democratic idealism aspires to. The orphan, the child born out of wedlock, the child prematurely forced to work away from home, and the child deprived of opportunities for education or religious communion — these have first claimed concerted effort, which now manifests itself in scores of specific demands and collective movements. Present problems include: legitimation of the "illegitimate"; proper rearing of orphans; proper limits to "child labor" legislation; state protection of motherhood; vocational guidance and training; health supervision; eugenic supervision of rights of parenthood, etc.

b. The "disabilities of women" incorporated into law, religious custom, and subdivision of economic labor have been in process of gradual removal for centuries, but the end is not yet. Current movements for franchise; for vocational "equality"; for equal control, within the family group, of property, offspring, place of habitation, and rights of worship; and for other forms of "independence," are of poignant interest, partly because in some cases essential social foundations may be in process of being undermined faster than new supports are building.

c. **Vested inequalities** of various kinds have been measurably corrected by modern movements for political democracy, originating in revolts of "guild" cities, "protesting" religious denominations, seceding colonies, and unenfranchised majorities. Achievements can be traced in: impairment of hereditary nobilities; spread of constitutional government; government through elected representatives; extension of suffrage; equalization of taxation; protection of freedom of speech and press; development of public education; and numberless modifications of these in abolition of slavery, freedom of migration, secrecy of voting, etc.

Problems appear as to: alien citizenship; procuring governmental "efficiency" under the "many bosses" of democratic control; dangers of "mass" control by those of inferior political experience, knowledge, or, possibly, potential abilities — negro caste, soviet of manual laborers, warrens of city, a special religious group; how to "educate" individuals for social efficiency.

Aspirations for more political democracy within modern nations are now chiefly confined to unenfranchised adults, repressed racial groups (negroes, "submerged nationalities"), repressed geographic groups (cities wanting home rule, Rhode Island's opposition to Constitution), and victims of political machinery, "bosses," or bureaucracies.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

d. Under "**social democracy**" we can include aspirations, programs, and achievements for correction or mitigation of disabilities, due to nature or social art, on consumption, intermarriage, sociability, culture, migration, worship, etc.

Formerly, as outcomes of totemic, religious, caste, and the other restrictions of social control, many restraints were imposed on consumption, and especially on decoration. Some food taboos are yet imposed by churches, and dress

of sexes is still forcibly differentiated. But where political democracy prevails other sumptuary restraints on the individual have dwindled to conventional forms (coats for men, decorative uniform for soldiers, etc.).

Intermarriage of white and black castes is now legally prohibited in many states. Strong conventionalities restrain freedom of marriage between individuals of unlike economic, ancestral, or religious connections. But freedom of divorce operates to give relative independence to women, with balance of harm probably for children.

Exclusive groups. In fellowship, convivial and some cultural groups making of sociability a large purpose, a maximum of democracy tends to prevail within groups "elected" to be homogeneous; accompanied by markedly exclusive, "undemocratic" attitudes toward the "non-elect." Note examples in cliques, gangs, "sets," social clubs, fraternities, "secret societies," grades of hotels, Pullman cars, residence districts, occupational levels, cultural levels. But commercialization of amusements (photo-drama, restaurant, dance hall, excursion, resorts, etc.) and transportation (street cars, local trains, and local ships having no "classes") as well as public provision of social facilities — streets, parks, public lectures, public libraries, museums — all weaken or remove barriers to "democratic" association.

But free association or sociability is now governed largely by sumptuary and other caste-like cleavages. "Sets" or "classes" restrict to those able to dress, maintain, recreate, and educate themselves on similar planes. Manners, conventions, mutual interests, thus become stratified in society, each plane relatively insulated from those above and below. Of only somewhat less vitality in preventing "sociability" democracy are racial, religious, and occupational distinctions.

Formerly "culture classes" held apart, especially the "erudite" and the unlettered. Latin and Greek were once

prized because they denoted "gentle rearing." Now these distinctions tend to disappear as modern education becomes general, but similar distinctions attach to "club" groupings for sociability purposes.

Formerly collective action greatly impeded freedom of migration and residence. Surviving restrictions rest largely on grounds of political expediency, and are directed chiefly against immigration, property holding, and trade (cf. immigration of Hindus to Canada, Australia, South Africa; of Chinese, Japanese, polygamists, and avowed anarchists to the United States; of low-class English labor to Canada, etc.).

Formerly religions were variously exclusive. Some held no salvation for women, low castes, peoples not chosen by God. But the world faiths have been strongly propagandistic, inclusive, and even destructive of undemocratic barriers resting on other grounds (primitive Christianity, Quakerism, Unitarianism, Roman Catholicism). Caste (blacks vs. whites) affects some churches in America; while economic differences are alleged to debar the "poor" from others.

Except in the case of color barriers to free intermarriage, existing limitations on "social democracy" seem to inhere more fundamentally in economic differentiations (productive powers, possessions, consuming powers, standards of living) than in race, religion, or ancestral family, since economic equalization, after a period of adjustment, seems to remove barriers more certainly than other changes. Probably this affects contemporary interest in "industrial democracy."

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

e. Under the term "industrial democracy" should be considered many of the most vital aspirations of the present age. These are probably inevitable effects of recent rapid economic developments, transformations of productive

processes, multiplications of populations, rising standards of living, curtailment of natural resources, etc.

Native inequalities of productive ability — due to age, sex, physical strength and dexterity, endurance, mental powers, self-control, avid appetites — combine everywhere with socially produced inequalities — birth in poor regions and of poor parents or in poor times, acquired ill-health, deprivation of suitable education, accidental entrance upon a badly developed or declining economic “lead” — to give numberless and very wide economic inequalities between regional classes, classes derived from different economic levels, and classes affected by different stages or types of economic evolution; and still wider inequalities among individuals. Political democracy, general education, and freedom of migration tend to mitigate these inequalities, but probably not to the same extent that these influences generally raise standards of living, which are always the torturing provocatives of economic demand. Communism (of ownership and for consumption) becomes one end of economic democracy (an end realized in the family, the pioneering company or industrial crew, and many primitive religious communities, but with no enduring examples among complex, advanced peoples). Copartnership, profit-and-loss sharing, guild control, state operation (with no “profits”), and coöperative exchange, are current experiments toward other kinds of economic democracy.

STRIVINGS FOR MORE DEMOCRACY

Efforts to realize ideals of democracy as factors in social efficiency give rise to many problems of conflicting social forces. Where life is primitive, scattered, unorganized, there are few problems of democracy, since (*a*) man collectively has few means of removing nature-imposed disabilities on the individual, and (*b*) collectively he has had reason to

impose only a few of his own that are not essential to small group survival.

But as men multiply, organize, and expand the social inheritance, their powers of helping various kinds and classes of individuals to fuller lives, in spite of natural limitations, increase; and the possibilities of more carefully adjusting the yokes of social control and economic control, and of so increasing justice as to preserve the social effectiveness of the individual, and at the same time give him the maximum of individual freedom, always exist. For Great Britain, France, and America the most pressing current problems seem to be those of democratizing all those social agencies in which elaborateness of mechanism oppresses, or seems to oppress, the individual or sub-group.

Evolution of democracy. Everywhere the radicals strive for more democracy of some variety (sometimes organizing their strivings in very undemocratic ways) and in propaganda they ignore or depreciate social achievements under methods they would correct or supplant. Everywhere the conservatives strive against hasty or far-reaching action, fearing to lose in revolution, present gains — fearing especially, of course, on behalf of themselves and those nearest them. The mills of the gods meantime grind on and nature ultimately gives the final verdict. Note some of the problems:

a. Political democracy, having achieved general suffrage and removed disability to office holding, finds endless difficulties in the complexities of the problems it faces. Officials will not act as majority superficially think they should, hence corrections sought in recall, initiative and referendum, soviet (economic class) representation, simplification of constitutional amendment, the short ballot, etc. Hence popular opposition to appointment of officials to indefinite tenure, and other conditions provocative of bureaucracy.

b. Freedom of access of women to all wage-earning

employments has been won, but ultimate effects of this on normal family life still constitute problems.

c. Production organized on corporation basis creates extensive regimentation of workers. Initiative lies chiefly with those factors who own, or can command, capital wherewith to procure means of production — land, mines, patents, machines, raw materials, franchises, technical knowledge. In corporation production — best exemplified in railroads, factories, banks, steamships, mines, some tropical farming — areas of individual initiative are lessened for rank and file, and intensified for specialists, as is military initiative for soldiers and officers in the army camp. Hence eventually collective dissatisfaction, unionization for self-protection, and emergence of vague but insistent demands for “industrial democracy.” Can a large army be democratic and efficient? Can the crew effectively dictate or share in determining the course of a steamer? To what extent can workers determine policies of a large factory? Who shall take the initiative in development, e.g., in planning new railways or opening new mines? (But note importance of distinctions between powers to discover courses of action, and capacities to discriminate among courses devised by specialists, as basis for democratic control.)

EDUCATION AS A MEANS TO DEMOCRACY

The foregoing analysis of the essential factors and problems of democracy suggests that some of these may be now made the objectives of specialized forms of social education. With respect to others, the educator may have to wait for the social economist to discover valid orientations and concrete objectives for collective action.

The most obvious and insistent fact in the recent evolution of democracy has been the exaltation of the individual — with emphasis, naturally, first on those whose natural or

man-made disabilities were pronounced. Religious propaganda — Christianity with its high valuation of the individual soul, irrespective of externals, as well as Buddhism and Confucianism; political revolution — for liberty, for equality, for fraternity, for socialism, for the breakdown of caste and rank; philanthropy with its yearnings for the handicapped, the imprisoned, the neglected; and social reform silently striving for a thousand mitigations of adverse conditions — these have nearly all championed the weak individual against the strong.

The next most obvious fact is the struggle for democracy as among groups — from families, vocational and sumptuary groupings, to nationalities, castes, and races. The “self-determination” of small nations is an aspiration paralleled by similar aspirations among manual workers, tillers of the soil, unmarried women workers, school students, rural dwellers, colored races, and the mentally inferior. Many of the problems of “equalization” raised by these must remain for some time in the limbo of “sociological faiths.”

Any process of exalting men, either individually or in relatively homogeneous groups, soon reaches the point where the similar or equal rights of others (contemporary or of the future) are about to be infringed. Exactly when and where this point is, or can be, reached remains often obscure in the present state of social science. Hence endless strife on the part of given individuals to claim more from their small groups than these think right, of small groups to claim more from their large groups than the latter believe just or expedient. Hence also constant demands on the part of individuals and small groups for their “rights” and insistence on the part of more inclusive groups on “duties” of individuals and small groups.

For purposes of democracy under complex conditions of

civilization it may safely be assumed that man's instinctive equipment is seriously inadequate and that his deficiencies must be overcome by education which may have to be at times strenuous. The social instincts are in the main products of "small group" needs; and in so far as they tend to be broadly "altruistic" or "humanitarian," they are easily overcome by self-regarding or "small group regarding" instincts or acquired attitudes.

It must always be recognized that in the case of democracy, as of all other comprehensive social aspirations (for Christianity, liberty, peace, diffused economic well-being), numberless chasms between ideals and attainable ends will be discovered because of failure to take into account facts of nature that may be immutable. And nature, as thus interpreted, certainly includes the "original" nature of man as that may differently exist among: children and adults; the natively strong and the natively weak as respects muscle, brain, combative disposition, sympathy, or economic need; black and white; Bushman and Kaffir; Saxon and Indian.

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

How far and toward what specific objectives can civic or other forms of school education be directed toward the realization of the probably sound aspirations of contemporary democracy? Approval can be given certainly to:

a. All that civic education which assures acceptance in concrete form of the obligations of all of us to "respect the rights of others" as these are defined by law or majority public opinion at any time.¹

¹ Probably we must hold in a democracy that "the majority is most nearly right." But, practically, the word "majority" needs to be given something other than a purely numerical meaning. "One with God is a majority." In actual social practice at any given time and in spite of suffrage laws and all other devices to insure "one man, one vote," men do not weigh equally in determining civic action. The intelligent man, if

b. All those forms of general or vocational education which, without imposing excessive burdens of taxation on others, increase the strength, confidence, ambitions, culture, useful standards of living, vocational competency, and several varieties of coöperative abilities of the naturally or socially handicapped.¹

c. All those forms of liberal and vocational education which increase in the naturally and socially advantaged (the gifted and environmentally favored) appreciations of, and aspirations to render, altruistic social service.¹

d. Obviously the optimum resultants of oligarchic and democratic operation for school class groups and the school group as a whole can be discovered and utilized, partly

politically active, may outweigh hundreds of unintelligent mature men. The decisions reached by majorities or the courses of action apparently determined by them, are in reality initiated and dictated by a few who are, for whatever reasons, far-sighted and disposed to take trouble.

¹ There remains, then, the Strong Man from whom the results of our dissection cannot be hidden. It is this that troubles those of little faith. I hear them say:

"But the Strong Man at whose expense you widen your realm of order and justice! How if this man — thanks to your revelations — breaks the net in which society would enclose him and stands forth free! What then?"

To this would I reply:

The end is not yet. The last word is not said. The Strong Man who has come to regard social control as the scheme of the many weak to bind down the few strong may be brought to see it in its true light as the safeguarding of a venerable corporation, protector not alone of the labors of living men for themselves but also of the labors of bygone men for coming generations, guardian not merely of the dearest possessions of innumerable persons, but likewise of the spiritual property of the human race — of the inventions and discoveries, the arts and the sciences, the secrets of healing, and the works of delight, which he himself is free to enter into and enjoy.

When thus to the issue between him and the living men who ask him to concede to them no more than they concede to him, there is joined the issue between him and the dead men who have endowed him with the fruits of their toil on the sole condition of passing them on intact to posterity, the ancient spirit of fair play — the "I AM" that was before all codes and controls and will be when they are gone — will make itself heard in the heart of the Strong Man.

And its verdict will not be adverse to the claims of society.

E. A. Ross, *Social Control*

as examples, partly as sources of elementary appreciations, ideals, and insights.

DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

The degree to which education is democratic in its administration can be measured against these principles:

a. The public control and support of education in a society whose dominant aspirations are for certain kinds of democracy operate to prevent such control by undemocratic or "class" minorities. The freeing of the pupil or his parents from financial burdens operates still further in the same direction. Where higher or special schools must be restricted to a few, the selection of these on the basis of open competition based on merit only is democratic. Hence the free tuition of America's high and elementary schools, free textbooks, free transportation from distant points to central schools, as well as the system of admitting to war academies, normal schools, and universities on the basis of merit only, are measures of democratic education.

b. Cost-free opportunities for learning are, however, insufficient to overcome the handicaps of the very poor. Hence public provision of free food, free clothes, and free residence (e.g., as made possible by maintenance scholarships, free lunches, etc.) is often proposed in order to increase the democracy of education. Normal schools in Great Britain and war service academies in America provide free maintenance. But other handicaps remain. Some children, upward of 15 years of age, are expected to aid in the support of dependent parents. To insure complete equality of educational opportunity to these it would be necessary to relieve them of their filial burdens.

c. The democracy of public education can furthermore be measured by the extent to which it prevents segregation or promotes association or fraternization. Segregation or

exclusiveness is often desired by parents having high standards as a means of preventing the lowering of manners, morals, cultures, speech, sociability ideals, religious ideals, and the like of their children. In many American states racial segregation is demanded by public opinion — of negroes, of Japanese, of Indians.

PART THREE

PROBLEMS OF OBJECTIVES, COURSES, AND RESEARCH IN CIVIC EDUCATION

CHAPTER TEN

MEANS AND METHODS OF CIVIC EDUCATION

CIVIC education, being but one division of social education, partakes necessarily of the means and methods that have become more or less historic in the larger field. Emphasis has previously been laid on the fact that whereas extra-school agencies have always been responsible for the major part of both moral and religious education, school agencies tend to become increasingly responsible for civic education proper.

The means and the methods of any form of education, if its pedagogy is at all well developed, should probably have separate treatment. Unfortunately this separation is neither very practicable nor profitable in a field that is still so formative as is civic education. Each type of *method* of civic education now being given experimental trial in schools is very closely tied up with the specific *means* adapted to its application. Only in the cases of American history and didactic civics have the means, in the shape of texts and various other adjuncts, become sufficiently standardized to permit of independent consideration apart from the methods employed in using them. In the various other divisions of civic education now in process of development — such as self-directed school discipline, service projects, developmental readings, scouting, and social problems — attempts to force clear-cut distinctions between means and methods would only result in confusion. Emphasis must again be given to the fact that nearly all the processes of purposive civic education are still very experimental and undeveloped, largely owing to absence of clear-cut objectives based on analysis of the civic shortages of the men and women who compose our societies.

PRELIMINARY ANALYSES

1. **The historic means** of social education employed by various school and non-school agencies have been almost numberless. Among them may be distinguished:

a. Those means designed to form in early years specific habits, attitudes, sentiments, and the like by authoritarian control of the growth of the feelings or so-called emotions. Parental, religious, political, military, and other kinds of authority have always been busy kindling in the spirits of youth very specific kinds of fears, hates, loves, ambitions, conscious scruples, sense of what is honorable, and the like. These in time crystallize into the enduring mental and moral attitudes which constitute good or bad social character.

b. Parallel with these have been the practices on the part of authoritarian agencies of controlling the formation of ideas, interpretations, and understandings through such specific devices as precept, belief, dogma, and creed. The products of these educational processes also crystallize into fairly fixed elements of social character.

c. Those controls and activities which provide, in the environment of the learner, very prolonged attractive activities along approved social lines — coöperations, sociable associations, property acquisition, personal aggrandizement, and the like to such an extent as practically to absorb growth energy and to exclude effects of agencies of conflicting character. Everywhere is now recognized the potency in moral, civic, or religious development of the maintenance about the plastic individual of an approved social environment accompanied by the silent, invisible exclusion of opportunities for disapproved social activities.

d. Those activities which are designed to promote, during the early years, enduring personal ideals or approved goals of social behavior. To these ends are designed the historic

means of hero worship, ancestor exaltation, appeals transmitted through deities, songs and stories about the great and good, biographical readings, stimulus of poetry, drama, and other art, and the urgings of leaders and seers.

e. Those means which, used through direct instruction and with only moderate appeal to the feelings, aim to give knowledge of, and insight into, the structures and functions of social groups and the events that give these significance. Under this head would be included the great bulk of realistic history study, analysis of governmental structures and functions, studies of social institutions, and the various other social sciences that have developed in recent years, such as community civics, civil government, economics, sociology, and the like.

f. Those agencies designed to create relatively artificial environments and activities for the purpose of giving elemental experience, knowledge, and ideals toward certain of the less "natural" forms of social action. Well-known examples of these are the training methods of medieval knighthood, the "extra-home" apprenticeship of medieval guilds, the residence education of English boarding schools, together with a variety of modern devices such as scouting, boys' clubs, school self-government, summer camps, schoolships, and the like.

g. Those which single out for the conscious service of "young citizens" activities normally exercised by adults in either an amateur or a vocational capacity. These include projects in policing, guiding of visitors, enforcement of various forms of law and ordinance, street cleaning, road building, reduction of fire hazards, improvement of sanitation, and other service projects of similar nature.

h. Of somewhat similar purport are those dramatic projects in which learners dramatize various past or present social functions for the sake of the resulting appreciations,

understandings, or ideals. Among these are to be included the dramatization of voting, naturalization, exploration, defense, judicial processes, enforcement of law, legislation, discharge of executive offices, and many others of similar nature.

i. Those methods which single out for extensive analytical study, and perhaps tentative determination of approved lines of conduct, problems which either are now, or have been in the past, of acute concern to adults. Since these are still social *problems* — that is, they involve undetermined issues of fact or interpretation — they usually present controversial features either of principle, or of the application of accepted principles. It is obvious that methods of civic education based upon a study of problems are almost completely opposed to methods of authoritarian control. Various approaches to these problems are obviously possible according as the more specific or broader social interests of the individual learner are used as a basis of motive. The naïve and primitive method is to approach through the formula, “Is it to my interest that ——?” or the other, “Is it to the interest of my family, my party, or other small group that ——?” Sound social education employs larger formulæ such as, “Is it well for the nation that ——?” or “Is it well for humanity that ——?” The more ethical approach would be, “Is it right that ——?” or “Is it just that ——?” The strictly religious approach would be through the formula “Is it the will of God that ——?”

CONSTRUCTION OF COURSES

2. Construction of courses or programs of moral and of civic education through schools involves adaptations of one or more of the above methods. Concrete and positive approaches to study of the application of these methods can only be based on analytical studies of the needs of known

case groups of learners as these may be served by particular methods. Since we possess as yet few objective criteria for the determination of social values, substantial programs can ordinarily be made only by obtaining the consensus of opinion of well-informed jurors or critics representing different points of view. Even at the present time it would be highly desirable to obtain from a jury including a social psychologist, a practical social worker, an educator, a parent, a minister of religion, and perhaps an employer, tentative findings with reference to problems like these:

a. What is the desirable and probably effective place today of authoritarian formation and control of either feeling attitudes or fixed beliefs with such age groups as these: ages 2 to 6; 6 to 10; 10 to 14; 14 to 18; 18 to 30; 30 to 50? These groups might be separately considered as to persons of inferior, average, or superior intelligence. Furthermore, the social relationships toward which education by authoritarian control is practicable could be further differentiated as to economic, religious, political, domestic, and martial. It might, for example, be the consensus of well-informed opinion that only in the earlier stages should authoritarian control be expected to dominate political convictions, whereas at all stages such control might be expected to dominate in sex and martial relations. It is obvious that our unwillingness to have those of our beliefs and attitudes that rest heavily on feeling discussed or "reasoned" about is one good evidence of their authoritarian origins.

b. Does contemporary experience suggest that biographies, sermons, ancestor exaltation, and other means customarily designed to inspire ideals are largely effective only with the more imaginative minority of our youths between the ages of 6 and 10? Would similar considerations apply to age groups between 15 and 18?

c. Is it probable that amateur participation on the part

of adolescents in realistically meeting civic requirements is successful almost wholly in proportion to the employment of gifted and magnetic leadership? Or does evidence indicate that some of these means can be made educationally profitable with only average leadership? Separate consideration should here be given to such service activities as scouting, relief of distress, school self-government, organized entertainment, junior Red Cross activities in war time, coöperative village cleaning, and others.

d. Is it educationally practicable or desirable that youths from 15 to 18 years of age should in public schools debate and otherwise study such controversial subjects as these: "Is 'private property' (in any one of its many varieties) a social good?" "Are there varieties of private property that should be abolished?" "Are negroes equal to whites in intelligence?" "Is it right that in an area where negroes are in a large majority they should be forcibly deprived of suffrage?" "Does the Constitution of the United States contain a number of archaic provisions?" "Should the United States impose obligatory and universal military service?" "Is it right for a man, complying strictly with the law, to buy for as little as he can and to sell for as much as he can?" "Are these policies 'right': freedom of practice of vivisection in medical education, capital punishment, freedom to obtain divorce on grounds now permitted in most states, prohibition of intermarriage of blacks and whites, exclusion of Orientals, governmental censorship of plays?"

e. Is it probable that the extended study of the details of American history as ordinarily taught enlightens the prospective citizen as to right courses of civic action in later years?

EFFECTS OF SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

3. Contributions toward civic education have in greater or less degree always been made by historic school procedures

as well as the influence of extra-school agencies. Inventive teachers can readily find a number of special problems in civic education like the following which will abundantly repay study:

a. Endeavor to analyze the permanently socializing effects of several kinds of school discipline, ranging from autocratic to democratic self-government. Give separate consideration to each sex and at various age levels such as 4 to 6, 6 to 10, 10 to 14, and 14 to 18. Perhaps further social analysis would be worth while, as, for example, between urban and rural children, between children of low and children of high, intelligence ratings, and between classes from different types of environment.

b. Trace the establishment of purposes, standards, social values, and general ideals through the personal attitudes and interpretations of life reflected by teachers. Common experience attaches much value to the example and personal influence of teachers on the appreciations and ideals of the young. Analytical study here could well afford to consider particular results, in such fields as manners, specific conventions, life-career ideals, political attitudes, and philanthropic aspirations.

c. Study of the creation, expansion, or modification of attitudes and ideals through school-controlled activities in studies and in voluntary group performances. It is widely believed that such studies as history, literature, and music can be utilized, and are under some circumstances actually now utilized, for the formation of various specific social ideals or attitudes. Similar results are believed to flow largely from good activities of a more or less voluntary nature through clubs, athletics, fraternities, and the like. To have value, studies here should as far as possible differentiate particular qualities, such as respect for law, humane treatment of animals, ambition for financial success, desire

for leadership, aspirations for right forms of coöperation, and the like.

d. Study of the social effects on character and behavior due to intellectual enlightenment as to political and other social functions attained through the study of civics, current history, and other didactic means. There still exists much doubt as to how far intellectual enlightenment contributes to social behavior where impelling motives are not aroused. This entire subject needs elucidation. One phase of it is perhaps especially important at present; namely that which has to do with the interpretation of civic and other social action in terms of the self-interest or local group interest of the individual himself. It is well known that study of history is constantly being used as a means of furthering the ends of those promoting nationalistic aspirations, party solidarity, and religious adherence.

e. What are the effects of realistic participation project activities? Many of these were made functional during the war, and their effects upon civic behavior ought to be in part now discernible. Similar studies are needed of the effects of dramatic activities, including festivals and commemorations, which have been so widely used in recent years. Studies here should also be carefully differentiated according to age levels and possibly other bases of analysis.

f. To what extent have schools been successful in recent years in stimulating the formation of, and entering into coöperation with, extra-school activities—in scouting, boys' clubs, social centers, sports, vacation activities, library reading, special summer reading, discriminating use of the photo drama, and the like? No one can doubt that these activities make important contributions to moral and civic education. To some extent their quality and scope can be effected through and by school agencies. But the means and effects of such coöperations should be surveyed and

evaluated if we are to have other than faiths as foundations of programs.

g. There is also needed analytical study of the effects of teaching current social problems to prospective voters. In a few schools the study of ethics has brought learners into close grips with various moral and other social problems, and the effects of the methods employed are now in need of analysis and evaluation.

SOURCES IN SOCIAL PRACTICES OF ADULTS

4. The social standards governing educational objectives in civic education are to be derived primarily from a study of the adult society in which the learner now abides and toward more complete and responsible functioning in which he is now being trained. The following are among the considerations that would affect means and methods of instruction:

a. In its more essential features, civic education must aim at producing in the learner enduring habits and convictions toward those social ends as to which a majority of adults are in substantial agreement. It is sometimes urged that civic education should, in all areas where some uncertainty prevails, aim to produce appreciations of the "right" social values even though approved perhaps as yet only by a minority. Most proposals to this end are futile and any definite procedure to carry them out would necessarily be frustrated by majority opinion. It must be remembered that democracy invariably means, in practice, government by majorities, and the execution of educational policies from this point of view is simply one function of government.

But in all fields where parties divide, where debatable issues appear, it could well be a function of disinterested teaching to lead learners into an analysis of the various contentions involved. Only very high-grade instruction can

avoid giving the appearance of making proselytes or of leaning to the one rather than the other side in partisan issues. In the strongest American colleges much progress has recently been made in having students study various aspects of controversial matters. With more competent leadership we shall certainly be able to follow their example in secondary schools.

b. The various feeling attitudes — beliefs, faiths, sentiments, prejudices, admirations, aspirations, and the like — are much more largely formed under the influence of dominant personalities on the one hand, and group opinion of approved associates, on the other, than through direct instruction. Among these dominant personalities strong and approved teachers can play a part, but extravagant expectations as to teachers' influence should not be cherished, since there are many factors that lead to intellectual and moral dominance of the young other than school education, and the position and the benevolent intentions of teachers.

c. Intellectual analysis of some social problems seems to be easily procurable from adolescents, provided these problems embody those issues of right and wrong that, because of their environment or prominent social instincts, make realistic appeal to the sympathies and imaginations of youths of this age. In favorable environments problems like these can easily command sustained attention, energetic analysis, and strongly partisan debate: Is it right or wrong that poor men should be required to pay taxes; that striking motormen should stop car service; that men should be conscripted as soldiers against their will; that any one man should have an income of \$1,000,000 a year? These and hundreds of others like them can be easily introduced into any area of civic and moral education. Whether experience will show that good educational results follow the kinds of analysis of behavior and ethical principles involved is

still an open question. Where prepossessions have not been strongly formed in the learner through consideration of his personal interests or the interests of his relatives or other associates, the intellectual approaches to these problems, as they may be fostered by wise teachers, can easily be made to produce abiding convictions, sentiments, and even ideals which will endure when in later life appeals to self-interest or to small group interests develop. On the other hand, especially under poor teaching, partisanship may be made more intense, and certain weapons of discussion may be acquired which will render the individual more, rather than less, formidable as a defender of wrong ideals or practices.

d. It is doubtful, in the light of experience, if students in general, in adolescent years, will find effective interests in studying the anatomy or structure of governmental machinery or that of other social mechanisms related to political or other big group action, such as party organization, means of propaganda, evaluation of policies, etc.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF METHOD

5. **General principles of method** applicable in other fields of education may be expected to apply in civic education. The following are important considerations:

a. With a few exceptions, moral and civic development and training require that we proceed from the concrete to the abstract, from the particular to the general, from the near to the remote, from the immediately significant to the ultimately significant, no less than in other fields of education. Exceptions are found in certain areas where powerful, even though diffused, instincts may be kindled, or even profoundly inflamed, by a single act, suggestion, or other stimulus (within areas of such "instinct masses" as those of parental affection, fear of social disapproval,

fear of non-visible deities, sex modesty, defense of kinship group, property holding, racial or unlike group antagonisms, etc.).

b. That in the fields of moral and civic education the fallacies of "formal discipline" are just as common, and just now far more influential, than in what we characterize as "intellectual" education. We still talk of teaching loyalty, forgetting that there are many species of loyalty, sometimes in deadly opposition to each other. We talk as though it were possible by some simple and even single-pointed process to teach such very composite and heterogeneous virtues as "honesty," "regard for public property," "co-operation," "service giving," etc.

But we are still not clear as to how far aspirations, appreciations, and ideals — involving large feeling qualities — may not be generalized by a few concrete cases, even where understandings and habits of action are limited. Here we need more examination of Professor Bagley's contention as to the "spread" of ideals.

In former times when the principle of moral authority dominated nearly all forms of moral and civic training, comparatively simple methods of educational procedure were practicable and effective. These included: appeals to fear through corporal punishment, threat of hell fire, and ostracism; appeals to faith and beliefs, through concrete dogmas, precepts, laws, divine injunctions, and kingly pronouncements; officers' commands; use of specific disciplines, unquestionably submitted to, as in armies, seminaries, courts, shops, schools, churches, families; and general taboos against inquisitive questioning or beginnings of the scientific attitude where issues of importance (or so believed by those exerting authority) were involved.

But only in very limited areas of modern civilized life, where persons over 10 or 12 years of age are concerned,

are completely authoritarian methods of education practicable, even if they are desirable. The social environment of the adolescent is too full of counter-suggestion against authority, for one thing. The scientific spirit among the competent adults of the time finds its derivatives (often counterfeits, but none the less "current" and widely accepted as "legal tender" on that account) among the mob, the slave, even the "gang fellow" of 12. These take pride in questioning authority, arguing about fundamentals, and insisting that they "must be shown."

Educators must decide in what social areas, if any, methods based on principles of direct authority are still valid. We agree that they still hold with very young children as last resort; with soldiers in time of national need; and in courts and prisons for those who have forfeited certain rights of free action. Where else?

Probably we are right in preserving methods based on the principle of authority in certain matters of sex relationship; in reference to murder and other overt invasions of personal security; and in reference to direct and consciously predatory invasions of property rights. But beyond these? Here sociologists, humanitarians, and educators are under obligation to get together.

The boy scout movement has, for certain types of moral, ideal, and habitual practice, probably the most effective pedagogy now available in social education. Its combination of concrete practices (in preparation for promotions, appeals to manly ideals of action, history of scouting), inculcation of general standards in very definite form (scout law), and use of virile leadership (patrol leaders, captains) produce a wonderfully efficient machinery of moral and civic education for certain areas of population and types of social behavior. But the mistake must not be made of assuming that scouting can be effective for all classes; or in producing

more than a limited number of civic virtues; or in being capable of proper development or maintenance otherwise than under devoted, voluntary, unpaid adult leadership.

Subject to these considerations, scouting pedagogy has much to teach us as to concrete means and methods of civic education, when once we shall have defined a series of specific objectives.

For some purposes we can also procure valuable suggestions as to means and methods from: military education; summer camps for boys; young people's church societies; juvenile courts and their attendant reform and parole systems; boys' clubs in cities; boys' farm clubs; self-governing schools, including self-directed sports; vocational schools, etc.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

6. **Specific objectives** must be defined before we can expect to develop adequate means and methods of realizing them. As heretofore shown, the entire field of civic education is still very much underdeveloped as regards specific objectives. Any analysis of specific objectives will almost inevitably be, first of all, qualitative — that which has heretofore been designated as “analysis into strands.” Without quantitative analysis, however, added to qualitative, it will be impracticable to develop satisfactory school programs. We must know not only what kind of social virtue we desire to produce through a specific process but the extent of it or the degree of its intensiveness that we consider desirable and practicable, taking account as well of the educability of the individual as of the needs of society.

It has been shown before that one of the most economical as well as scientific methods of determining what should be held as the most important specific objectives of civic education involves ascertaining as accurately as practicable the probable civic deficiencies at age 25–40 of those who

are now boys and girls of 14-16. What, for example, would three experts in social science agree on as the probable expected deficiencies at ages 25-40 of the morally best one fourth of 100 boys and girls 14-16 now in high school, as to:

a. Respect for rights of neighbors of equal social level to life (against murder)?

b. Respect for rights of distant and (supposedly) inferior strangers to life (murder of Mexicans, Indians, coal miners, "Dagos," etc.)?

c. Respect for rights of strong neighbors to property where "taking" would have to be undisguised — burglary, stealing, robbery, etc.?

d. Same, where "taking" could be disguised, as sales of bad mining stocks, fraud, etc.?

e. Same as (c) where neighbors are weak physically or otherwise — widows, orphans, men of inferior understanding?

f. Respect for rights of property of despised strangers, where predatory arts may be concealed from one's associates (the "smokeless" sin of E. A. Ross)?

g. Hundreds of others could be supplied.

What may be expected in the above respects of the morally least good one fourth of the class? the other fourths?

Analysis of the kinds suggested above will probably show that as respects establishing certain virtues — abstaining from murder of neighbors, and many others — the school need put forth little effort. By-education of family, community life, and church has sufficed. But as respects many other — and often less tangible — virtues the school must take large responsibility.

For example, in time of national danger we all constitute ourselves social agencies toward inspiring and giving focal objectives to "large group" patriotism; but in times of peace these agencies are quiescent, hence the school should now be most active in creating the aspirations and focusing

the intentions and actual or potential performances that will function as approved patriotism, either internal in times of peace, or external in time of foreign aggression.

CIVIC PROGNOSIS

7. **Civic prognosis** will eventually constitute a basic means of determining specific objectives not only for civic but for other forms of education. Without the specific instruction and training we propose to give, the children of today would develop into men and women with fairly predictable qualities of civic character, due to the operation of various social forces. Through "prognosis" of this sort it should be practicable to define the most evident "civic shortages" or defects toward the prevention or lessening of which specific school effort should first of all be directed. The "case group" method of approach, together with analytical inquiries, can again be illustrated:

a. Case Group A. Boys graduating from American high schools, in urban or suburban communities, possess in large measure the following common characteristics: they are above the average of the population of their own age in native abilities and in cultural effects of environment; they are good "mixers" and are ambitious; they have a considerable number of very definite social appreciations (valuations) and social conventions (of their set); their moral behavior is fairly good and their expressed moral ideals fairly low, as judged by adults of 35-50 years of age; they have good health; they work well in pursuit of ends which appeal to them as "worth while"; and they have little respect for authority on its own account.

What will probably be the good and the bad civic qualities respectively in the total citizenship of these youths when they are from 30 to 50 years of age, judging from social experience, as respects:

(a) Conformity to laws in general, whether helpful or adverse to their personal interests (respect for laws as such)?

(b) Conformity to laws which may seem to affect their personal interests adversely, including tax-paying?

(c) Helpful or indifferent attitude toward invasion of rights of persons or groups outside their spheres of acquaintanceship and with different interests and traditions?

(d) Systematic "complaisant" sharing in activities of political parties and easy conformity to "party" standards even when these tend toward group selfishness?

(e) Systematic sharing in "party" activities, accompanied by persistent disposition to enlarge and improve party objectives and standards?

(f) Disposition toward independent or "nonconformist" individual action on political issues and with small regard for coöperation with others either (1) in revolt, or (2) in constructive action?

(g) Disposition toward action independent of older parties, accompanied by ambitions to lead in forming new groups, or starting new "movements"?

(h) Regard for "property rights" of distant and "inferior" persons?

(i) Self-sacrificing participation in primaries, informal censuses, voting, and "follow-up" scrutiny of work of public officials?

(j) Volunteering service in time of war?

(k) Competency in the appreciative valuation of public works — roads, schools, health service?

(Many other specific attitudes can be predicted.)

b. Other case groups can readily be analyzed: for example: **Case Group B** — boys two or more grades retarded at age 14, and probably destined to leave school soon; **Case Group C** — girls intellectually able, remaining in high school until 16,

but forced then by family circumstances, or induced by strong desires for independent income, to become wage earners.

c. **Two contrasted groups**, A and B, in schools of a city of 100,000, may be studied through the same approaches:

Group A consists of 1000 boys aged 14 to 15, of good native abilities, prosperous families, good home environment, successful school records. Will probably go through high school, then into general or vocational college or into "business."

Group B consists of 1000 boys aged 14 to 15, leaving elementary school on "working papers" when attendance laws permit. They have average or low intellectual abilities as shown in school studies. Many are retarded. Nearly all will enter juvenile employments without vocational training and will advance to adult employment via road of "pick-up" vocational education.

Using your personal experience as a basis, submit opinions on the following points as to expected citizenship of above groups at 30-50:

(a) Will Group A or Group B yield the larger number of "good" citizens in the absolute sense — that is, quite without reference to respective opportunities, etc.?

(b) Will Group A or Group B yield more good citizens as these might be judged by respective abilities, opportunities, and the like? (The parable of the talents should be applied. Should we expect of each group civic "fruit" according to potential powers?)

(c) Will Group A or Group B give the greater number of legislators; labor leaders; business leaders; writers and publicists; educators; "reformers"; "agitators"?

(d) Will Group A or Group B give the greater number of convicts (crimes of violence); convicts (defaulters, forgers, etc.); "profiteers" or unscrupulous monopolists; vagrants;

drug addicts and drunkards; unscrupulous strikers in labor troubles?

(e) Will Group A or Group B give the greater number of good "conforming" citizens, anxious to obey all laws, unwilling to find fault, protest, or threaten to revolt?

(f) Which group will furnish the greater number of persons who in time of great national danger will say: "My country — may she be ever right; but, right or wrong, my country!"

(g) Which group will be so tenacious of their conceptions of right that they will try to block social action to argue or promote their particular ends?

(h) Which group will give the greater number who "will have nothing to lose even if the government fails or the nation is conquered"?

(i) Which group will provide more of those who would "rather be different than right"?

(j) In so far as good citizenship is probably due to school education, what will have been the most important sources in specific studies and disciplines for the two groups, respectively?

(k) In so far as good citizenship is due to reading after age 20, what will have been the principal sources for the two groups, respectively?

(l) In so far as good citizenship is due to affiliations with purposive social groups (political, economic, religious, cultural), what will have been the principal sources for the two groups?

MEANS AND METHODS CLASSIFIED

1. The means and methods of civic education now employed by schools can profitably be classified into seven principal divisions:

a. Discipline, including both the oligarchic and democratic types.

- b.* History studies.
- c.* Didactic civics, economics, and other social sciences.
- d.* Social service projects.
- e.* Dramatic projects.
- f.* Developmental readings.
- g.* Social science problems.

2. Distinction of **alpha** and **beta** objectives in, or within, each of these fields is important especially from the standpoint of most effective method. The chief considerations to be noted here are:

a. Much of the formal, purposive discipline of school-room, school building, and school grounds may properly be regarded as important for projective rather than developmental ends. It is part of a system of positive training based upon concretely projected standards.

The self-discipline of any school group in sports, cliques, and other naturalistic social manifestations can better be regarded as developmental. Under this head might well be included the more democratic forms of school self-government and other coöperative activities inspired rather than enforced through school authorities.

School self-government in some of its most effective forms can well be included under the head of developmental projects rather than discipline, since its educational value comes to surpass in importance its immediate utility as a means of maintaining order.

b. History studies as now carried on in our schools manifestly contribute to the ends both of cultural and of social education. Unfortunately no satisfactory distinctions in materials or methods have yet been made to correspond to these diversities of aim.

History studies should also be clearly differentiated into their projective and developmental phases if choice of means and methods is to be worth while. Obviously, in any field

of history studied, there are some facts of dates, characters, events, and general findings that should be so studied and incorporated into memory that in later years recall will be easy and fairly complete comprehension will be persistent. On the other hand, there is much historical material — pictures, fiction, poetry, song, biographies, numberless narratives, and the like, that may prove very interesting and “nurtural” as reading but which need not necessarily contribute to what are here called the projective objectives of civic education.

The application of the project method in civic education, utilizing contemporary problems interpreted in part through historical antecedents and parallels, properly belongs under the project method. In some cases the ends held in view in this work should be of a definitely projective character.

The materials of contemporary current history should be regarded as rather of a developmental than a projective character.

c. “Didactic method” as the phrase is here used is intended to designate those methods of instruction based upon direct “telling” or other forthright conveyance of knowledge. Nearly all well-known textbooks in geography, history, hygiene, economics, and civil government use almost exclusively the didactic method. They state in very much condensed language and by means of positive affirmation what the student is expected to “learn.” Sometimes these didactic presentations are colored or flavored by means of pictures, anecdotes, illustrative descriptions, and even a few questions; but all these are usually incidental to the more formal method.

By way of contrast it should be remembered that arithmetic, drawing, industrial arts, and music are taught in the main by other than didactic methods as here defined; and that a large part of recent progress in the teaching of science

and English language has been directly away from that method. The "project method" now favored in the lower grades is, obviously, a very great departure from the didactic.

All studies employing didactic methods are here assumed to be based upon well-defined projective objectives.

d. A project is here understood to involve two primary qualities: (1) It is a discrete job — that is, a separate or detached enterprise or undertaking — in which the primary purposes in the mind of the learner might simply be the obtaining of desirable experience or the performance of desirable activities. (2) As a by-product at least, if not as a conscious purpose, the teacher has in mind the contributions to specific ends of education of the experience thus obtained.

Ordinarily most service projects should be classified as developmental. Many examples of these can be had from scouting, school-initiated relief work, and the like. Projective ends to be served are rarely clearly defined. They contribute to the development of rich and vital experience which in some composite way is assumed to be valuable in adult life, but the specific contributions of which cannot be defined.

e. Dramatic projects. Even more true is this of dramatic projects, a large variety of which have in recent years been introduced into the earlier grades and some of which may be well adapted to higher grades.

f. Developmental readings, including stories told by the teacher, constitute a category designed to include all reading stimulated primarily for the purpose of giving civic ideals, appreciations, or insights. Here belong hero tales, biographies, stories of nations, graphic readings, accounts of other peoples, and, for older pupils, descriptions of coöperative enterprises for rural dwellers, of clean city movements, of campaigns to rid towns of bosses. Here also belongs the

wealth of modern fiction dealing with recent or contemporary "battles" for good government. Obviously, all the objectives here controlling are developmental.

g. Social science problems are here designed to include a wide range of civic problems adapted to the various age groups. These are expected to be based upon environmental experience as far as practicable, but nevertheless in many cases they will involve problems that will actually be encountered for practical solution only in the adult life of the citizen. Many of these problems are now no less economic than political in the sense that they rest on economic foundations but require political solutions. In selection and treatment these problems should be determined by the considerations that characterize projective objectives.

SCHOOL DISCIPLINE AS A MEANS OF CIVIC EDUCATION

"Small group" social contacts and activities fill the waking hours of children in their early years. For purposes of security, nurture, rest, and consolation any child's life is centripetal to the household; but for purposes of many kinds of experience, adventure, play, sociability with equals, and education it is largely centrifugal as regards the home. The home is an intensive agency of socialization, but its influence weakens as age and mobility make possible or necessary wider ranges of flight for the young. Other agencies then impose their respective varieties of social control—the "neighborhood," the street or countryside "gang," the police power, the church, and the school.

Each of these agencies exerts its own forms of discipline, all of which are definitely socializing, sometimes on a "small group" basis (often antisocial to "large group" interests, be it noted) and some of which contribute qualities of adult civism. But because these agencies seldom consciously address themselves to the task of preparing youth for adult

citizenship, numberless improvements in their processes are possible where it is found practicable to subordinate, even slightly, immediate ends of control to more remote and more specifically civic ones. Gang coöperation can under some conditions be expanded into scouting; school control can become self-government; church clubs can be induced to undertake service projects; police oversight can work into educative parole and probation; and even the home can coöperate through various redirections of its controls and suggestions.

The home is practically the sole agency of social education of normally circumstanced children up to 4 years of age. Nearly all of the child's time is spent under its immediate control. Its direct influence also extends to such extra-home contacts as children of this age make with neighbors. Most of the appreciations, knowledge, and habits thus formed are moral rather than civic. Improvements of home social control are usually to be accomplished through advances in the education of potential mothers, partly as one objective of civic education for parenthood (still a shadowy ideal), and partly by definite training of the young woman for the vocation of homemaking (an ideal now rapidly taking shape under experimental efforts of many institutions).

From 4 to 6 the social development of most children not attending school is not qualitatively unlike that of the two earlier years, except that the matter of adjustments to play groups becomes more complicated and in turn educative — for good or for bad.

The school introduces new factors, however. This agency insures social groupings of considerable size, with the attendant needs of complex disciplinary control. It has long been a part of the theory of kindergarten education that a variety of social appreciations, attitudes, and even ideals

could be instilled at this time that will be of functional value throughout life. These theories still need careful psychological examination. Their various implications, often expressed in aspirational writings, may be largely lacking in validity. In higher schools the maintenance of school order has usually been conceived as a means to educative ends — rather than as itself an educative means.

Certain specific socializing functions of the kindergarten, as well as sometimes of other schools, are easily recognized where children from homes in socially low-grade environment are given from 400 to 1000 hours per year of wholesome surroundings in kindergarten or higher school groups. Lonely children in "one child" families whose standards preclude free street association also obtain needed companionship in the "select" kindergarten.

It is readily obvious that the bringing together of from half a dozen to some hundreds of children or youths of ages 6 to 18 for purposes of education necessitates at once the creation of special machinery of social control. What are the essential characteristics of this control? And what are its possible "carry-over" products toward adult citizenship? These are two important questions of social education.

At present we can only say that the characteristics and controls of school life have not yet been satisfactorily analyzed and described from the sociological viewpoint. It is evident, of course, that school groupings are relatively artificial when tested by the "natural" social instincts; that children are forced into them by will of parents, teachers, and other representatives of "large group" interests; and that the first habitual — even instinctive — appeals are to submissiveness, fear, and love of approval or distinction as motives, and utilizing penalties and rewards, rules and dogmas.

The maintenance of certain well-defined types of order,

and the enforcement of certain kinds of coöperation, are in schools as in other social groups to be regarded primarily as means to the realization of the larger ends for which schools exist. The scope and character of these means, therefore, will usually be governed by very pragmatic considerations.

The class is the primary social group in lower schools (or combination of classes occupying a single room). It is in the schoolroom that work must principally be done; that harmony must be maintained among individualities, however indisposed to conform; and that certain types of coöperation must be assured.

Obviously the rural single-room school group presents the greatest heterogeneity. Here are commonly found the most knotty problems of school government. Here very complex interests and attainments must be harmonized if work is to proceed and joint living five or six hours per day be made tolerable. In the urban multiple-room school any given room-group is, relatively, fairly homogeneous as regards age, attainments, and dominant interests.

In multiple-room schools for younger pupils there often exist other sub-groupings—cliques or gangs for special (childish) purposes, and “the school” group as a whole. But needs for controls here are variable, since school organization and spirit are vague and often functionless except in a crisis or when the “school community” is brought to consciousness.

In schools for older pupils the room-group may become less important and influential from the standpoint of group consciousness, need of exacting controls, and common rules. Departmentalizing of work accentuates some problems and lessens difficulties with others. In large schools “cross cutting” social groups—clique interests, athletics, and the like—are apt to come into prominence.

Conformity is the keynote of good “school citizenship.”

First and primarily — according to oligarchic standards now usually prevailing — the approved pupil exhibits various specific forms of the conformist virtues. The nonconformist virtues have little place. A large proportion of these approved virtues are concrete and standardized, since the areas of action invisible to authorities are few, as contrasted with the social areas in which the home, church, workshop, community, and state operate. The ends to be achieved by the school (at the time or for the proximate future) are so determinate that clearly defined forms of discipline (to procure needed conformities) are easily practicable.

Diagnosis of the socializing values of school discipline requires further analysis than we yet possess. The difficulties of control and social adjustment arise because: (1) the child comes from the home often highly individualized in his attitudes; (2) for the first time, generally, he is required to adjust himself to long periods of routine employment, requiring silence, cramping of body, and other restraints, for which nature and previous experience have given him little preparation; and (3) the very conditions of "school government" readily give rise to "instinctive gang" opposition to the oligarchic control of teacher and other authorities.

Democratization of school government has been an aspiration and ideal of all progressive schools for several decades. The resulting tendencies in practice are: (1) diminished disposition on the part of teachers and other authorities to secure control by appeal to fear, use of corporal punishment, arbitrary rules and commands, etc.; (2) increased disposition to inform children as to *rationale* of control; (3) greater reliance upon establishment of right ideals of conformities, and, occasionally, of corrective nonconformities; and (4) occasional use (and frequent approval) of devices whereby children may participate in some of the controls required for the effective functioning of school social groups.

Let us assume that, owing to effective school administration, the school social groups in which a given youth has membership during the ten years of his life from 6 to 16 are perfectly functioning groups as measured by standards generally approved during recent years. During his participation in these groups he has done the required work acceptably, and has not been disorderly, untruthful, obstinate, dishonest, rebellious, sulky, idle, dissolute, improvident, envious, profane. In doing "school work," getting school education, he has been a "good citizen." In what ways and to what degrees, as a consequence, has he probably been thereby made fit for adult citizenship in other community and state groups?

These problems are of utmost importance to educators. Even acceptable analyses of them are not yet available. Nearly all accessible discussions of them seem to be confused by various forms of fallacious reasoning — and especially that which follows the principle, *post hoc ergo propter hoc*.

Civic selection by schools. It is, of course, probable that in so far as there exist relatively strong instinctive tendencies to yield to authority, to seek approval of superiors rather than equals, to be easily governed by fear of penalty, to be without "small group" initiative, etc., then, of course, the possessors of these relatively strong instincts will be "good" subjects under school controls. Similarly, in so far as home controls produce dispositions of conformity to rule of elders, of submission to authority, of fear of penalties, etc., the school merely selects, but does not produce, socialized individuals.

Obviously it is necessary to study these problems from the standpoint of various types of social qualities that may be "transferred" to adult life. Here our psychological difficulties are great. We may safely assume that some aspirations and ideals established in and for school social

life are largely capable of transfer, whilst specific habits and knowledge may be transferred but slightly.

Pressing this line of inquiry farther, we might agree with what is undoubtedly a widespread belief today among progressive educators, that if there were two schools of absolutely equal effectiveness as regards maintenance of social control as a means of achieving stated formal work, but the first of which (School A) utilized a highly oligarchic discipline, whilst the second (School B) utilized a relatively democratic discipline, the second would give better results as preparation for citizenship in a liberal republic.

It is possible that concrete analysis of specific qualities might help. Take, for example, the much-used word "obedience." It embraces the central virtues of the pupil under oligarchic control. But there are, even in school life, several kinds of obedience. In practice we know that a given learner may be very obedient to one teacher and not to another. He may render proud and grateful submission to the athletic coach or the school principal, but refuse even decent conformity to a harassed laboratory assistant.

In adult life he is expected to obey the laws, his employer, the traffic policemen, and the executive committee of the club. Do the forms of obedience or disobedience here manifested link up in any direct order with those manifested in schooldays? Or is it here again a case of "to them that have shall be given, and from them that have not shall be taken away even that which they have"?

The positive values of school discipline as means toward adult civic education are therefore as yet but slightly known. The efficacy of these methods must be tested largely in terms of their present functioning in contributing to orderly school life and work. Further social analysis may show us certain specific respects in which a direct connection can be traced to adult practices, especially perhaps in the fields

of general *habitation* (production of *attitudes*) and *ideals*. It is very probable that the respect for women teachers enforced in lower grades carries forward into adult life in the shape of a series of reactions as specific as the tipping of the hat or the polite address of "Yes, ma'am." It is very probable, too, that from the constant insistence of teachers on approved social behavior insensibly evolve ideals appropriate for the adult citizen, especially in situations involving no acute conflict with his personal interests.

The prevalent distrust of excessively oligarchic school control may very probably be traced to imperfectly defined convictions that the specific forced obedience thus made habitual cannot in the great majority of cases prove of any functional value in meeting the demands made upon citizens in adult life in a democracy like ours.

HISTORY STUDIES

The "history" studies that have gradually been incorporated into the curricula of secondary and elementary schools will, for the purposes here under consideration, be grouped under two heads, developmental and projective—for convenience designated here beta and alpha objectives.

Under the beta head are included the myths, stories, biographies, narratives, poems, novels, and pictures that lie outside of systematically told history. Under the alpha head will be included all those systematic presentations, usually on a chronological basis, that make up the hundreds—perhaps thousands—of textbooks adapted to Grades 6 to 12 in the public schools.

History materials of the beta type are now widely used in the lower grades. They merge with literature, current events, music, and graphic art. To an increasing extent they are made to "appeal" to the interests of learners. From these sources are supposed to be derived appreciations,

ideals, and perhaps a small amount of useful knowledge. In many cases pupils develop permanent interests in reading, as results of their school introduction to lives of noteworthy men, stories of adventure, heroic poetry, historical novels, and, now, historical moving pictures. In recent years materials of the beta order have been widely recommended to supplement regular course studies in Grades 6 to 12 and even in college.

The alpha types of history are best defined by reference to existing textbooks and also by questions set by external examining boards such as the Regents of the State of New York and the College Entrance Examination Board. For many years the American book market has afforded in large variety three very distinctive types of history texts: (a) very simple books on American history expressly prepared for children below the seventh grade; (b) very compact, though compendious texts, especially designed for Grades 7 and 8; and (c) comprehensive texts in world history, ancient history, medieval and modern history, English and American history, etc., designed especially for high schools.

All of these possess certain common characteristics: (a) They present the subject largely in its chronological order, except that often the history of one area is developed through a considerable period before the history of a corresponding period for a different area is taken up. (b) They give space chiefly to the events that have seemed of most importance to subsequent generations (chiefly political events), and largely without relation to the significance of these events for contemporary or expected social conditions. (c) The presentation is almost invariably formal and didactic — truly a record of events as they happened, accompanied sometimes by running threads of generalization and interpretation expressive of the views of the textbook writer or of the historians whom he follows.

Standardized examination questions also show certain fairly uniform characteristics: (a) They test learners primarily as to memorization. (b) When they do require generalizations or interpretations, it will be found that the most acceptable are again the expression of memorized contents. (c) The questions rarely call for facts of remembrance, or for conclusions based upon reflection, that have potent relationship to contemporary or prospective social problems.

History in the lower grades is now usually taught by what are here later called the methods of "developmental readings." But in upper grades and high schools little progress has yet been made away from the highly didactic methods long characteristic of the subject, except where an uncommonly resourceful teacher, having available a quantity of library, source, and other "laboratory" materials, is disposed and able to set students at the work of learning in ways somewhat resembling those employed by the original writers of history itself. For the majority of higher grade pupils "learning" history means the memorizing of textual statement, and uncritical acceptance of textual data and generalization.

The same methods still prevail largely also in the other social sciences, as is indicated elsewhere. All the well-known texts in civil government consist chiefly of condensed descriptions of the structures and functions of political or other large social mechanisms, supplemented by some formal exhortations to prospective citizens as to their obligations and opportunities through civic participation. These didactic texts in history and other subjects vary considerably in the vividness and simplicity of their topics, in the extent to which they include or exclude topics relevant to contemporary civic performance, and as respects concrete "setting and dressing." But even at their best they are not, and cannot be, "readable," in the sense used when we

speak of "readable" books of travel, biography, or fiction. They leave the student little to find out for himself; they set him no tasks except the dreary one of "comprehending" and "committing" formal and condensed statements of the text.

"Didactic methods" of presentation are, of course, of very great service to learning. Every cyclopedia, dictionary, atlas, scientific treatise, and historical work of reference is obviously made effective largely by the adequacy of the didactic form upon which its assemblage and organization of material is based. The ordinary textbooks in civil government or in American history used in our schools would be very serviceable as books of reference for learners seeking specific information to supply needs developed through other contacts or "project-like" activities. But in the study of history, as of other subjects, the best current educational ideals are clearly opposed to mere verbal memorization, to the "teaching" of facts only, and to the mental storage of data unrelated to present-day life—to historic didactic methods, in short. Various special committees on the teaching of history have in recent years expressed aspirations and formulated courses far transcending ordinary "text-book" history in purposes and methods. A few gifted and favorably circumstanced teachers succeed in lifting the subject much above memorization levels, even though the best of them seem only slightly to succeed in making the subject "function" in current life—whatever that may mean.

Memorized history. But it is submitted that the history studied by probably 98 per cent of the pupils from 12 to 18 years of age in this and other countries consists in reality of very little more than a memorized mastery of salient facts and generalizations, usually quite without conscious reference to the social issues soon to be vital to the young

citizen. It may be doubtful whether conditions can be otherwise, in view of the principles which seem to control in the organization of history as a "science."

Is it desirable or practicable to define a series of "projective" objectives for the history studies of elementary and secondary school? "Projective" objectives, it will be remembered, are those involving attainments of forms of knowledge and powers of execution that are expected to remain tangibly and genuinely functional in adult years.

In most of the recent literature on the teaching of history it appears that these are stated as aspirations rather than actualities, and in philosophical rather than sociological, terms. These hoped-for objectives seem to be about equally divided between the cultural and the social, as the terms are used in this book. But we are given very few specific evidences of the contributions of these harder historical studies to civic appreciation and power — although it is always implicitly assumed, if not sometimes openly asserted, that citizens can "only judge (and therefore control) the future by the past."

Results of American history study. It is submitted that critical examination of the results of history teaching would justify these statements:

a. American history as studied by the average pupil in Northern states who does not reach the high school, leaves as residuums of knowledge and appreciation for adult years a few definite conceptions as to: (*a*) historic personages — Columbus, Washington, Lee, etc.; (*b*) certain critical dates and eras — 1492, 1620, the Revolution, etc.; (*c*) social valuations — the treachery of most Indians, the wickedness of the English in 1776 and their lack of sympathy in 1864, the odiousness of slavery, etc.; and (*d*) some broad facts of social evolution — dominance of the English in colonization, the westward movement, growth of republican institutions, etc.

Some of these are important, if not indispensable, factors in cultural education for 20th-century Americans; but the number of such appreciations and units of knowledge needed for general culture (that is, as "integrating" knowledge or appreciation) is probably not large, and these are certainly attained very wastefully through present methods which involve memorization of thousands of facts.

b. American history study has very slight, if any, bearing on the adult *civic behavior* of students of average intellectual abilities and interests. It probably does not affect: political party membership; prevailing attitudes toward general problems such as immigration or treatment of the Indians; attitudes toward English, Mexicans, Chinese, or Canadians, or corporation production; or insight into right solutions of problems of protective tariffs, government control of general utilities, negro suffrage, international relations, etc. When the time comes for the average citizen to act in situations related to any of the above — that is, to influence others, to vote, to approve of policies proposed by others — he does so with very slight or negligible reference to what he has learned from history. (This may not always mean that those specialists who influence him — political leaders, editors, legislators — are similarly unaffected by their school or post-school studies of history.)

c. American history studies, for a minority of gifted youth whose school studies in general simply open the doors to regions which they will largely explore by themselves, may be *introductory* to important fields of culture and social appreciation and thus make important indirect contributions to adult civic behavior, especially under conditions where initiative and leadership are required.

In other words, when, in adult life, a man of superior intelligence and intellectual enterprise is confronted by social problems he naturally turns to past experience for guidance.

Probably almost never does he find that guidance in what he has previously actually learned of American or other history. But the historic situations of which he has remembrance, the methods of locating historic facts and authorities with which he has become acquainted, as well as his cultural interests in particular fields, all unite in giving him confidence that he can in some historic situation find help toward solving his present problems. History as now taught seems only occasionally to train him directly in these powers. Neither does it give him any reliable criteria as to the service historical knowledge can offer in solving present problems.

d. The history studies of the high school make still fewer and less important contributions to the total of adult civic behavior than does American history as studied in the upper grades. Exceptions to this conclusion apply only in the case of that very small number of high school students who eventually become publicists or governmental agents.

e. But these studies do leave cultural residuums of importance, notwithstanding the large amount of straw that students are now obliged to winnow for the sake of the wheat.

Projective objectives. What might well be the "projective" or alpha objectives of history studies? The following considerations are submitted as a basis for discussion:

a. **Salient history.** Beginning perhaps in the third or fourth grade, and held as a requirement for all up to age 14, and thereafter as an elective, should be units of salient history, spirally progressive from grade to grade, and designed primarily to minister to certain structural foundations of cultural objectives. This salient history should be designed to insure fairly accurate knowledge of a small number of dates, personages, and significant circumstances connected with momentous events, turning points, and tendencies in history. Such knowledge should give essential intellectual frameworks comparable to those now sought in the science

subjects and arithmetic. In fourth and fifth grades such mastery might profitably be limited to a half-dozen critical points in American history. At the end of the eighth grade it certainly should not have included more than one twentieth of the details which now congest the typical elementary school textbook. Throughout the high school period the four successive units of this projective history study should not have included more than 3 to 5 per cent of the numberless dates, personages, battles, and hurryings to and fro charted in any of the ordinary volumes of "Ancient" and "Medieval and Modern" histories. The units of history study thus contemplated should not require more than 5 to 8 per cent of the total school time available.

b. History-based problems. Beginning probably in the seventh grade and continuing as electives in all grades above should be a series of "short unit" courses on those social-science problems of demonstrable importance to contemporary or not distant future American citizenship, which rest tangibly on historic foundations comprehensible by the learner. These should be "hard" or alpha type subjects, designed primarily to produce, in relation to the particular areas of social thought and action involved, the clear-thinking, judicious citizen, conscious on the one hand of the complexity of the problems involved, and of the partial character of the solutions thus far reached, and on the other of the necessity of acting, as occasions arise, in the light of the best knowledge available.

These problems will be chosen first on the basis of relevancy to the political, economic, or other social issues of the day; second, because of their suitability for consideration by learners of the age and grade under consideration; and third, because of the extent to which they utilize and even reillumine history. It may prove expedient to group these problems in Grades 7 and 8 under community civics and

local government studies; in the ninth grade, as political science or civil government; in the tenth as economics; and in the eleventh and twelfth as sociology. But probably this will not be necessary — it may, in fact, prove undesirable. (It is, of course, assumed that other offerings of social problems will be made in which the “historical foundations” will be unimportant or inaccessible to ordinary students.)

When we once detach ourselves from the prepossessions engendered by too close adherence to academic classifications, it becomes obvious that in connection with each of such live topics as immigration, relief of poverty, collective bargaining, the borrowing of capital, the extension of the suffrage, and scores of others, there are some vital problems that may well be studied attentively by eighth-grade pupils (certainly they are no more difficult than much of the arithmetic we seek at that time to have mastered); whilst others may well have to be postponed to later grades in schools or even in college. Other groups of problems, such as government ownership of general utilities, colonial policies, international relations, negro suffrage, tariffs, alien ownership of land, and the like may not supply any problems suitable for grades below the ninth and tenth wherein are now utilized the highly complex and abstract problems of algebra and plane geometry.

Now it is in the study of problems like these that history can really be brought into the genuine service of civic education. Learners will here be concerned (very much as will be the case in mature life) only with those times, happenings, and conditions in history which give him light on the problems that he then has in hand. To the proper sources of information they will, of course, in each case be guided by special bibliographies, indexes, and the teacher — and perhaps by other means yet to be evolved. The *salient history* that has thus far been learned should serve also, like the

framework of a house, the skeleton of the body, or the essential principles of science, to guide and organize the learner's searchings for details.

As suggested above, not all of the social-science problems to be studied will have important historic aspects — which discovery may yet serve to rescue us from present delusions as to the large part knowledge of the past should play in decisions involving only the present and future! But many of them will. We can readily imagine a class in a seventh grade confronted by any vital municipal-service problem such as those involved in urban transportation. Such problems would be approached by such questions as these:

A. Transportation problems of our city.

a. Is our city, as regards transportation facilities, a very good place to live in? Is it so for prosperous people? for very poor people? for negroes of refined tastes? for recent immigrants?

b. In what ways and to what extent are the transportation facilities of our city very good? fair? poor? very bad? More particularly, what about the streets? street cars? bridges?

c. Are the terminal and harbor facilities of our city good or bad? Particularize as to passenger facilities; export freight facilities; import freight facilities.

B. Other present-day cities (comparative studies).

a. What seem to be the transportation problems of Philadelphia, New Orleans, London?

Now the study of these problems will readily throw the student back upon many important lines of history. For example:

C. Our city in former times.

a. What were the historic conditions which led to the founding of the city here?

b. Why are the older streets so narrow?

c. Was this ever a walled city? What are some of the

peculiarities of cities once walled like London and Nuremberg? Why the term "Wall Street" in New York?

d. For sake of appreciations (hardly for practical application) read stories of Babylon, Tyre, Athens, Rome, Edinburgh.

SOCIAL SCIENCES BY DIDACTIC PRESENTATION

As indicated above, the words "didactic method" as used here are intended to designate those methods of instruction based upon direct "telling" or other forthright conveyance of knowledge.

Current textbooks. Nearly all contemporary textbooks in social-science subjects designed for learners from 12 to 18 years of age are based upon what is here called the didactic method. Such texts are in the main descriptive of facts of social structures and functions, contemporary or historical. These are selected with reference to assumed civic needs and by current pedagogical standards. Supplemental problems and topics for special study are usually incidental and unsatisfactory. Attempts are sometimes made in the text to "connect" with the social environmental experiences of learners, but these attempts seem usually to be futile, partly because of the fact that the text commonly must be written equally for East and for West, for city and for country, for pupils of high, and for those of low, intelligence. Most of these books seriously violate accepted pedagogic principles as to the inductive methods of approach, and fail to utilize propensities of students toward self-activity. Very probably effective pedagogy in civic subjects will require that what are here called didactic methods of civic education shall be reduced to a minimum and that other methods be employed as fast as they are developed.

Didactic methods are, usually, the first to be developed in any new field of instruction or training. The leader, specialist,

or teacher has by one means or another attained to some kind of mastery of his subject. Naturally he tends to organize his knowledge of data or procedures in the most "logical" and compact fashion practicable. Seeking to convey his possessions to others, to instruct them, he tends inevitably to begin with the definitions, formulæ, compact descriptions, and logical structures of data into generalizations that he has finally developed for his own use.

Many of the vices of didactic methods are, of course, now well understood by educators. They know well enough in theory that, far from being a "natural" method, it is a most unnatural one, since a large part of the knowledge intended to be conveyed is quite unassimilable by learners too immature or otherwise unready for the materials presented in the highly concentrated forms customary in this method.

Varieties of ability. A large amount of contemporary civic education for pupils upward of 12 years of age proceeds on the implicit assumption that all learners are "born equal" — in abilities and prospective opportunities, that is. That fallacy is no less glaring and serious than was the one sometimes formerly arising from naïve interpretations of the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence that "all men are born equal." The undoubted fact is that between the ages of 12 and 18 pupils vary as much in their competency to study courses in civic education effectively as they vary in abilities to study music, mathematics, drawing, or shop work. Courses cannot, of course, be made for each individual; but it is certainly practicable in large schools to organize courses for two or three different intelligence levels, especially since it will probably be found that in many cases the abilities thus differentiated will to a very considerable extent be paralleled by closely correlated civic appreciations, vital experiences, and potentialities. For practical purposes a distinctive group, sub-average in ability and probably

destined to leave school at not more than 16 years of age, might well be recognized among those above 12 years of age. Because of their disproportionately large political influence to be exerted later in democratic citizenship as compared with their abilities, special attention might well be given to their civic training. Very different kinds of education should be given also to that conspicuous minority of super-average abilities who will probably finish high school.

As long as we are obliged to depend upon "didactic" methods, the best that can be done is to simplify texts, eliminating the relatively less essential. Many of the most popular of texts now used are veritable cyclopedias of civic data and principles, which, like compendious texts in history, would be valuable as books of reference. But the aspirations apparently cherished in some quarters that any considerable numbers of pupils will, in the first place, really "master" these encyclopedic volumes of material, or that, in the second place, any such partial or complete mastery will work significant changes in behavior are probably far wide of realities.

PROJECT METHODS

In the organization of the "means" of education — the studies, lectures, "tellings," discussions, experiments, exercises, assigned readings, memorizings, reports, activities, problems, trials, tests, examinations, etc., through which we achieve our desired ends — insufficient attention was formerly given to the production of effective "teaching units" of the kind that would be especially significant to the learner. The "question and answer" unit — as seen at its best in the catechism — was the smallest unit ever devised. It was in part definitely pedagogical and in part definitely logical. It was eminently suited to an age in which authority was the source of all knowledge for the learner, and verbal memori-

zation the chief means of fixing in the minds of each new generation the dogmas and other authoritative teachings of the older generation. This unit had also the peculiar advantage of being very easily handled by unskilled and uninformed teachers.

The "lesson" unit has always been in part a pedagogical unit — that is, based upon the powers and weaknesses of learners — rather than a logical unit — that is, based upon the inherent characteristics of subject-matter. It has probably never been a true pedagogical unit — that is, taking account of all the characteristics to be found in the child as active learner. It might be called a unit based roughly upon the capacity of the learner to sustain attention, to endure application, or to give working time. It is, in other words, a convenient task, a sort of day's work, so far as a particular kind of activity was concerned. It is often an arbitrarily sliced-off portion of subject-matter, and commonly represents frequently no logical division of that subject-matter at all — resembling, therefore, as a unit, a stated length of board or cloth or a slice of bread rather than a tree trunk, a garment, a biscuit, or other more organic unit.

The "topic" which in many studies succeeded the lesson as the teaching unit of chief importance was especially characterized by its logical relation to some larger unit or "whole" of subject-matter, while at the same time it was endeavored in it to take account of the possible focusing of interests and the intellectual "spanning powers" of young learners. In many respects it was therefore an advance on units previously developed. It lent itself especially well to teaching in which some reasoning, inference, and comparison on the part of the learner was sought in lieu of the verbal memorizing which had formerly prevailed.

A few years ago educators began using the word "project"

to describe a unit of educative work in which the most prominent feature was some form of positive and concrete achievement having vital significance to the relatively "natural" learning instincts of young people. The baking of a loaf of bread, the making of a shirtwaist, the raising of a bushel of corn, the making of a table, the installation of an electric-bell outfit — all these, when undertaken by learners, and when so handled as to result in large acquisitions of new knowledge and other experience products, were called projects. Projects of this kind might be individual or coöperative. They might be executed in an ordinary lesson period, or they might claim the efforts of the learner for one or more hours per day for several weeks.

Projects. The following were the primary characteristics of projects as thus conceived: (*a*) the undertaking always possessed a certain unity; (*b*) the learner himself clearly conceived and valued the practical ends or outcomes to be attained (even though these might be quite different from the objectives intended and realized by teachers), and it was always expected that these outcomes were full of interest to him, luring him on, as to definite goals to be won; (*c*) the standards of achievement were clearly objective — so much so that the learner and his fellows could, in large part, render valuable decisions as to the worth — in an amateur or in a commercial sense — of the product; and (*d*) the undertaking was of such a nature that the learner, in achieving his desired ends, would necessarily have to apply much of his previous knowledge and experience — perhaps heretofore not consciously held as usable in this way (e.g., art, science, mathematics, special tool skills) — and probably would have to acquire also some new knowledges and skills.

As in many other forms of learning, the objectives held in view by learner and teacher were often unlike. What the learner imagined as an end the teacher conceived often as a

means to some remoter and probably more important educational end.

In the early stages of the development of certain forms of agricultural and industrial vocational education, a number of educators favored the project as the chief pedagogic unit of organization. In a sense any concrete job undertaken in a vocational school where the realization of valuable results in the shape of "products" constitutes an important end, might be called a "project"; but to be an "educational project" such a job (e.g., turning a spindle, electric wiring for a bell, growing a half-acre of potatoes, taking commercial charge of three cows for a year, cooking family breakfasts for a month, making ten salable shirtwaists, coöperatively building and selling a cottage, etc.) must be of such a nature as to offer large opportunity not only for the acquisition of new skill and experience in practical manipulation, but also for application of old, and learning of new, "related knowledge" — from art, science, mathematics, administration, hygiene, social science, etc.

Recently it would seem that the conception of "project," especially as applied in the "project method," has been greatly widened. We hear of projects in music, history, mathematics, and literature, where a tangible "product" of an objective, external character certainly reduces to the vanishing point, and the so-called project becomes merely an "enterprise" in learning under another name, with perhaps slightly less of autocratic imposition of task, and slightly greater inducement of self-activity (often very artificially inspired or stimulated, however) than in the historic topics, problems, lessons, and other tasks.

Properly restricted, the term "project method" is very serviceable, since it well designates a kind of method, applicable indeed only under some conditions, to some materials, and for some learning purposes, but in these connections a

method of utmost value. This is clearly the situation in civic education. Only a small part of the objectives of civic education can, probably, be achieved through the project method. But as far as it is applicable, it is clearly a very useful method, productive of very realistic experiences and accompanying appreciations, insights, ideals, and, perhaps, habits.

Types of projects. In civic education three unlike types of projects can now be distinguished: (a) Social (or civic) *service* projects; (b) *dramatic* projects; and (c) *survey* projects.

The term "service project" is here restricted to those individual or collective activities which are positively valuable to some social group or member thereof, other than the doer. Projects merely of "conformity" or obedience to law should probably be excluded, however. Among true social-service projects now more or less familiar to educators are the following:

a. The pupils of a school undertake improvements either for the obvious benefit of the pupils themselves — as where a playground is cleared, running tracks or playing grounds developed, or apparatus made; or else for the school in its community aspects — as where the building is painted, the grounds fenced, or repairs made.

b. A class of pupils or portion thereof undertake consolation or relief work — reading to bed-bound old people or children, providing a Christmas dinner and gifts for a widow (or other destitute woman) and children.

c. "Clean town" enterprises of various sorts.

d. Gardening, fruit canning and drying, stock raising, etc., in time of food scarcity.

e. Red Cross projects in providing bandages, clothing, and the like.

f. Guiding old people, sightseers, and the like in times of conventions (Boy Scouts).

g. A number of pupils undertake to report illegal conditions, fire hazards, exposed food in markets, neglected garbage, broken railings, etc.

Service projects, for the areas of experience which they affect, are educative in ways and to degrees not possible through other means and methods. Unfortunately, they can be devised, apparently, for but few departments of civic experience, and they are usually very expensive of time and teaching skill in execution. They are especially difficult to provide in large cities where so large a part of public-utilities service is necessarily on a paid specialist basis. In remote rural communities boys of appropriate ages could well be organized to repair storm-washed roads, watch for strayed animals, trap vermin, clear roadsides of weeds, be ready to combat fires, help distressed families, and aid in providing festivals, advertising public meetings, promoting regional enterprises, and the like. But in cities these functions fall under paid service, and volunteer labor is commonly more of a hindrance than a help.

Valuable projects utilizing "civic watchfulness" as a basis have been in a few cases suggested for cities — such as reporting fire menaces, littered lots, and uncared-for streets. In cities especially the worthy citizen, as co-employer of the numerous paid servants of the municipality, should be always vigilant to see that the prescribed duties of these are properly discharged. It is not difficult to organize boys, instructed as to the duties of policemen, street sweepers, garbage carriers, and the like so that they will become keen critics of those functionaries. Neither is it difficult to train them in watchfulness over the compliance of private individuals with ordinances relative to freeing sidewalks from obstructions, keeping exposed foods properly protected, freeing sidewalks from ice and snow, and the like.

But such "civic" activities on the part of juveniles must be very carefully safeguarded if mere meddlesomeness and a spirit of captious criticism are to be avoided. It is probably a safe rule that the teacher should always be the intermediary between the boys and the authorities to whom first suggestions, and finally criticisms, are to be made. Supervision of the work of public or private servants is something not to be lightly undertaken. Certainly it should involve, from the outset, appreciation and careful understanding of the positive aspects of that work — what the workers are doing now, perhaps with ill-defined tasks, poor tools, and hampering conditions.

Service projects are not, of course, to be regarded as ends in themselves. They are primarily educational means to certain types of civic appreciation, understanding, ideal, and perhaps occasionally habit; but the effective use of these projects requires not only that their objectives shall be defined in the minds of teachers with some detail, but also that skillful work shall be done in interpreting or translating the project so as to insure its full functioning.

Dramatic projects seem to have a very large field, but their permanent educational values, except for young children, recent immigrants, and other minds readily stimulated or inspired by symbolic appeal, are still questionable. The method of the drama or pageant may, however, have exceptional values in times of great emotional tension — in the early stages of war, in a great relief movement, etc.

Public schools now give many good examples of projects for earlier grades — commemorations, historic dramatizations, reproduced festivals, mock elections, naturalization, jury duty, small pageants, etc.

For upper grades and high schools it seems probable that the method fails unless planned and directed by persons of large dramatic powers. Perhaps the method, even at best,

is ill adapted to the sophistication of well-informed adolescents.¹

"Survey" projects seem to have large possibilities. In general science and community civics, much good work is now done through visits to local institutions, inspections, etc. To give these the essential characteristics of survey projects it is only necessary that learners be held responsible for carefully prepared reports, interpretations, and the like.

At all periods in school life it should prove possible, if time and facilities are available, to utilize visits, observations, and interpretations of social institutions as means of civic education. Community civics has already familiarized us with these means and methods as related to local governmental and some other social agencies.

The local fire department, street repair, water supply, gas supply, passenger transportation, public education, garbage disposal, policing and some other functions can be very clearly comprehended from visits in urban or semi-urban conditions. The discernment of these functions is more difficult in a rural environment where they are either absent, vaguely held by citizens (as policing and fire protection), or are located in distant places such as county courthouses.

Concrete economics of production of raw materials, elaboration of raw materials, transportation, merchandising, banking, inspection, and the like can also be taught in many environments in such a way as to lead at least to important appreciations if not to useful forms of insights.

School excursions are difficult to organize, and entail large responsibilities on teachers. Nevertheless, with proper utilization of student leaders, careful programing, and the

¹ In the attempt to dramatize the problems of government brief plays or masques may be very useful. The following references are helpful: Payne, F. Ursula, *Plays and Pageants of Citizenship*; Tucker and Ryan, *Historical Plays of Colonial Days*; Mackaye, Percy, *The New Citizenship*.

like, these ought to prove of very great value in all grades from the first to the twelfth as inspection or survey projects.

It should be clear that cultural objectives may more often control any work of this character than civic objectives. In fact, it is of utmost importance that such civic objectives as are held should be very clearly defined and means and methods carefully adapted to their realization; otherwise no permanent interpretations or evaluations follow.

DEVELOPMENTAL READINGS

The term "developmental readings" will be used here to include: (a) all general reading done by learners when motivated by curiosity or active interest in the content itself or in the direct use of the content for discussion or debate; (b) reading to learners by teachers for the sake of conveying information or of interesting them in further reading; and (c) informative or inspirational lectures for the same purpose, where no systematic note taking or subsequent study of the content of the lecture is required.

Developmental readings are, obviously, one of the commonest methods of self-education among adults, usually ranking next in importance to oral intercourse, and, so far as civic knowledge is concerned, often far outweighing oral intercourse in importance. Such reading among adults closely corresponds to the beta types of activities in schools. Most of it is to satisfy present interest or need. There is little conscious reference to remote goals. Not much of such reading is done in a spirit that could be called thorough. We often condemn it as superficial; but the superficial apprehensions obtained seem usually to represent reasonable resultants between available time and needed attainments. The method is certainly largely justified by the fact that our best-trained and most competent men and women everywhere use it, often for hours daily, outside of strenuous

periods devoted to productive work, in connection with intellectual recreation, personal culture, and self-advancement in civic insight. Witness the large amount of magazine, newspaper, and other "current literature" reading done by educated men everywhere.

To be effective, developmental readings should have holding power both in content and in method of presentation. All writing that has to stand the test of popular approval has clearly to meet these two conditions. The content must be timely, pertinent, and significant to the reader according to his powers, apperceptive interests, and the external stimuli by which he is affected. Methods of presentation rise, in the best products, to the levels of fine arts — the literary arts, standards in which, as far as juvenile readers are concerned, are yet obscure.

Prescription. Nothing is usually gained by attempts to prescribe developmental reading for youths. As among adults, each must, subject to suggestion, exercise his own powers of choice, must respond in his own way to stimulation. School or teacher can make materials available, provide suggestive leads, and impose a general requirement as to disposal of time. In a class or conference group formed to promote developmental readings, probably the most efficacious procedure would be to present to the group at the beginning of a term, or preferably quarter, a series of topics, many more than the available time permits to be taken up, including, where convenient, topics centering in particular books. Let the group note, first, its provisional choice of topics, then their order. For each topic a varied and extensive list of readings should be available, from which members of the class could choose.

Probably the only compulsions desirable for this type of work are these:

- a. Each student will be required to take a minimum

number of beta units each year in some field offered by the school — say 30 out of a total minimum normal requirement of 72 alpha and beta units for three quarters (180 days, 8 hours daily, a unit being 60 school hours).

b. The teacher should have the right to exclude from a conference group any learner who does not conform to essential standards of behavior and coöperative effort in conferences.

Topics for reading in civic education should be selected first because they are of contemporary interest and second because each contributes something to the idealisms, appreciations, and insights valuable to a citizen. (Completeness can never be attained. Hence, as in our own daily reading, some discursiveness must be tolerated, and diversity among individuals encouraged.) Among fruitful topics to be considered where reading matter is available for Grades 8 to 11 might well be many like the following:

Men influential in business leadership during last half century	The disappearance of the frontier
Immigration, old and new	The banking service
Poverty in America and other countries	Mail order stores
Various opinions about wars	Mexico and the United States
The settlement of public lands	Coöperation of farmers
Recent history of agriculture	The story of cement and concrete
Present-day commerce of the United States	The story of steel
The negroes of America	The story of meat packing
Oriental immigration	King Cotton
City <i>vs.</i> countryside	Trade unionism in America
The automobile — its rise and influence	Our forests
Newspapers — their history and their use	American water power
The rise of great cities	The story of coal mining
	Socialism
	State universities
	Story of oil
	The Department of Agriculture

Art agencies. The enormous vogue of the photo-drama as well as of photographic and other illustrations in maga-

zines suggests the probability that these may be made to serve increasingly important functions in civic education analogous to those of the readings referred to above. Painting and the photo-drama obviously can be made to effect marked changes in feelings as well as in understanding. Illustration often moves the feelings as well as conveys information of a factual character.

It is well known to all students of social sciences that music has played a large part in the history of the race in kindling social appreciations and ideals and in effecting the feeling states that largely condition behavior. Concrete examples of this can be found in the music designed to promote religious attitudes, patriotic attitudes and behavior, specific forms of economic coöperation, and also the socialization of large groups.

But the extensive use in the future of the emotional appeals of music for purposes of civic education or to produce civic behavior seems very problematical. Possibly in time of national danger peoples will hereafter, as in the past, speedily resort to music as means of patriotic appeal to unaccustomed forms of coöperative endeavor. Apart from this there seem to be few assurances that the needs or objectives of the larger forms of social conduct can be explicitly promoted by music. Nevertheless, the entire field requires examination by some one who is a competent student both in the field of community music and in the field of social behavior.

It is claimed by some, for example, that "community music" may act as a solvent of industrial differences in such a way as to prepare the soil for specific forms of useful coöperation. Possibly this may be so where the local population is composed of very heterogeneous elements. But it seems questionable whether similar results will follow easily in the community composed largely of persons of the same speech, habits of living, and economic interests. Here it may be that

sophistication and long acquaintance will preclude the practicability of any easy smoothing over of deep-seated differences.

“PROBLEM” METHODS

Future studies of the psychology of learning will probably establish the very great importance of the “problem method” in several of the subjects taught in the upper grades and high schools. The method has long been employed to a degree in mathematics and physics, where, however, its usefulness has been seriously diminished through the general use of fictitious rather than realistic problems. Recent advances in the teaching of these subjects center, indeed, in attempts to substitute “problems from life” for the imaginary and often bizarre problems heretofore invented for purposes of illustration or exercise.

The social-science subjects are now, as before stated, taught in the main by “didactic” methods. But the actual application of social-science knowledge in governmental and other “large group” policies by citizens commonly involves the solution of “problems” no less than do practical applications of mathematics and the natural sciences. The problem method should, therefore, prove no less superior in civic education than in the other fields where it is now developing.

Current enthusiasms for the “project method” have led indiscriminating writers so to distend the meaning of the word “project” as to include all kinds of realistic problems. But this misuse of terminology can hardly last. The problem method is not the project method, and each has its distinctive field. Useful distinctions can be observed everywhere in life. Many citizens undertake, from time to time, what are truly “civic projects”—from the formation of a new party to driving out a political boss, from effecting a reform in voting to the passage of a new statute. But many times more

numerous are the "problems" every conscientious voter has to solve at election and other times in deciding which of two or more alternative courses he should take in registering his vote or influencing others.

The validity or usefulness of the problem method in civic education rests on these grounds:

(a) That every individual beyond the age of infancy possesses in fact a rich social experience as a result of environmental contacts; (b) that most of the interpretations and evaluations of these experiences are now made by the individual on the basis of personal impulse and social imitation; (c) that in ordinary social life, even where such interpretations and evaluations tend to become rational, they nevertheless long remain heavily biased by dogmas, creeds, and doctrinaire formulæ because of partisan suggestions; and (d) that it is in a measure practicable for schools to help the student interpret and evaluate such social experience rationally, and increasingly in accordance with scientific standards.

Problem methods therefore presuppose the organization of so much of the learner's social experience as will enable him to appreciate the existence of problems, followed by the directed analysis of these by means of a series of questions designed to promote evaluations and also to bring out provisional interpretations that might seem more or less contradictory. It is assumed that with the aid of the teacher progress can easily be made toward some correct evaluations in so far as the state of present knowledge permits these to be reached. Since in many cases no final and permanently valid interpretations are as yet possible, the desirable objectives of this method of instruction may well include some deliberate fostering of attitudes of suspended judgment, as well as convictions on the part of learners that unsuspected causal factors are involved in the problems. These may be illustrated by examples.

Let it be assumed that as means we possess for the use of the pupil an analysis like that given below, each question being followed by blank spaces in which the learner would write provisional answers as far as his experience would then permit. These could then be assembled and discussed in conference and corrections made, in so far as concerted judgment could then be had. Where uncertain elements still remain these could be characterized as unsettled problems, some of which obviously may have to remain unsettled for the individual throughout his lifetime. Let it be assumed that we are dealing with ninth-grade pupils in a "social problems" course in a typical urban manual working-class environment.

A. Problems of Poverty

1. Each member of the class will draw upon his experience until he finds a typical case that can be characterized as a "poor family" as to which the following questions can be answered:

a. In what ways and to what extent does the poverty of this family seem to have been due to catastrophe — fire, death, robbery, severe illness, fraud, or war?

b. To what extent and in what ways does the poverty of the family seem to have been due to low earning power on the part of the man, owing to accidental causes over which he has had little control — sickness, lack of employment, financial depression, and the like?

c. To what extent does the poverty seem to arise from lack of earning power due to the fact that the man is of inferior natural ability, intelligence, or other qualities?

d. To what extent does the poverty seem to be due to inferior earning power because the man had not learned a trade or lacks some necessary adjunct to success such as thrift or ability to market his product?

e. To what extent does the poverty seem to be due to the large size of the family, to their extravagant habits, or to their failure in ordinary thrift?

f. In summary, show to what extent the poverty of the family seems to be due to causes that could be called "natural" and quite apart from the individuals themselves.

g. Similar summary of a series of analyses involving causes of poverty found in individuals themselves — idleness, intemperance, instability, irascibility, etc.

h. Similar summary of causes that are essentially moral in the family itself.

i. Similar summary of causes for which society as a whole or some large groups therein seem responsible.

2. Large parts of India are very densely populated. It is said that little progress has yet been made in agriculture by modern methods. These regions are subject to occasional drought. On the whole the population is regarded as being very poor. Answer these questions as well as practicable:

a. What are the causes of the poverty of these people that must be ascribed to natural limitations in their environment?

b. What are the causes of their poverty due to their own large numbers?

c. What are the causes of their poverty due to their backwardness in agricultural methods?

d. What are the causes of their poverty due probably to misgovernment?

e. What will probably be the best means of preventing famines and extreme poverty in the future?

3. In what ways does it appear that the poverty of persons of low natural ability can be prevented in the future by: (a) better general education; (b) better vocational education; (c) better training in thrift?

4. In what ways does it seem that the poverty of Americans can be diminished in the future by: (a) the progress of science and invention; (b) families of smaller average size; (c) improved agriculture; (d) more and better railroads; (e) more savings-banks deposits; (f) more foreign trade?

5. What are some of the effects on conditions of poverty that may be expected to come from: (a) increased immigration; (b) heavier taxation; (c) destruction of forests; (d) the crowding of peoples into cities; (e) poor government; (f) war?

6. What seems to be the relation of poverty to the accumulation of very large fortunes, when such fortunes, as well as a large part of the interest thereon, are kept constantly invested rather than spent?

B. Other Sources of Problems

Adapted to this same group of learners could readily be devised problems centering about such topics as these:

Colonial government, collective or state management of public utilities, the organization of labor, functions of representatives in republican government, private ownership of property, child labor, over-production, coöperation of farmers, treatment of crime, taxation, public ownership of forests, territorial supervision of production, large fortunes, free education, rural mail service, relief of the poor, and literally hundreds of others.

C. Economic Problems

1. Assume tenth-grade, second-year high school class, electing a course in Economic Problems. The course would be organized about these principles:

a. Economic problems constitute a large part of the civic problems of present and future.

b. Many economic problems, like many problems in

mathematics and physics, are far too difficult for the mental powers and experience of high school students.

c. Some economic problems, like some problems in mathematics and physics, are well within the mental powers and easily acquired experience of high school pupils, even of ninth and tenth grades.

d. Those problems only should be selected for study which are related to, and are interpretative of, problems about which serious issues and divisions of opinion now exist or are likely to exist.

e. Where problems now divide men of substantially equal intelligence and social good will into opposed parties, the school must carefully refrain from taking sides, confining its efforts as far as practicable, without arousing intense antagonisms, to setting forth the contentions of both sides.

The approach to these problems should be made first by considering, quite apart from learners' capacities, those problems that are now acute. Then, by processes of elimination, find specific problems or phases of problems adapted to the capacities of learners.

2. The following are some of the topics in economics from which may readily be drawn problems suited to tenth grades:

Private property	Power production	Foreign trade
Insurance	Coöperation	Public utilities
Taxation	Factory system	Monopoly
Public property	Credit	Population
Capital	War	Immigration
Raw resources	Competition	Minimum wage
Collective consump-	Middlemen	laws
tion	Corporations	Women in indus-
Wages	Trade unionism	try
Rent	Gold	Vocational educa-
Hand production	Tariffs	tion

3. When those problems have been selected that are in part at least within the comprehension of the group or level

of learners under consideration, their debatable aspects or issues should be brought into relief. The more abstract designation of the areas to be considered might well be reserved for teachers only. Sound pedagogy would usually involve: (a) bringing to the attention of pupils at the outset those *problems* coming nearest to their home or community experience; (b) assembly of facts of general knowledge; (c) assembly of principles upon which a large proportion of well-informed men are substantially agreed; (d) approach to the critical issues. As an example take "wages as payment for labor."

The teacher is aware that there are many problems in the economics of wages as to which there exists no agreement even among experts. These can be raised where necessary and their various aspects discussed. Abstract principles will be kept in reserve until needed in connection with concrete issues.

Problems of social justice which acutely concern or interest most learners will probably include many like the following (the phrase "Is it right" is conveniently assumed to derive from accepted standards of "social justice"):

a. Is it right that unskilled workers should receive lower wages than skilled workers?

b. Is it right that a woman should take less wages for certain work than a man with a family would require for the same work?

c. Is it right that wages should be paid, not at a fixed rate per day, but in proportion to work done?

d. Is it right that a man with a large family should receive only the same wages as a single man?

e. Is it right that brain workers should be paid more than hand workers?

f. Is it right that a minimum wage should be fixed by law so that no one would be allowed to work for less?

g-m. (Many others.)

4. The problems being before the pupils, no final judgments should be sought until miscellaneous experience possessed by the class is assembled, interpreted, and translated. Such questions as the following would help in this process:

a. What kinds of occupations of which you know do not pay in wages (homemakers, farmers, small shopkeepers)?

b. Are there any essential differences between salaries and wages? between day's wages and piece-work wages?

c. Are doctors' fees practically the same as wages? waiters' tips?

d. Do not most of the men in any city now work for wages?

e. What kinds of men and women workers now receive the highest wages, salaries, or fees?

f. What kinds the lowest?

D. Social Problems

It will often happen that better results can be had by organizing courses around "social problems" rather than economic problems alone, since it is now apparent that elements are often involved which are not strictly economic. The following are topics that suggest a variety of such possible problems:

The rights of labor

Model milk supplies

The rights of men accused of crime

The rights of the public to pure food

The care of homeless children

Mothers' pensions and the home

Enforcement of compulsory school attendance

Coöperation of business men in city government

The purposeful restriction of immigration

What kinds of equality are essential in business organization

Government by party
Problems of limiting private property
The localization of manufacturing industries
Freedom of contract
Governmental supervision of marriage
Social control of domestic relations
The family as an earning unit
Causes of divorce
Effect of broken homes on juvenile delinquency
Courts of domestic relations
Problems of primaries
The short ballot
Proportional representation
Corrupt election practices
The spoils system
Advantages and disadvantages of direct legislation
The use of the recall
Freedom of speech and thought
Rights to bear arms
Rights of negroes
Rights and liberties of employees
Problems of jury trial
Problems of prison labor
Prison reform
Methods of taxation
Standards of city government
Selection and training of city administrators
City planning
Progress of good housing
Improvement of water fronts
City water supply
Public baths and swimming
Street construction
County unit of administration
Appointment and tenure of judges
Uniform legislation
The amendment of the constitution
Method of national legislation
Administrative centralization in national government
Education and care of defectives
Public sanitation

Disposal of waste
 Prohibition of liquor traffic
 Problems of child labor
 Women in industry
 Industrial accidents
 Problems of unemployment
 Governmental regulation of business
 National aid in road construction
 Public control of railways
 Changing values of money
 Agricultural credit
 Improvement of river commerce
 Postal savings banks
 National aid in dealing with agricultural pests
 The Public Weather Bureau Service
 Water conservation
 Conservation of waterpower
 Negotiations of treaties
 Promotion in the army
 National defense

E. Problems of Specific Aim

Americans 14-16 years of age are just at the beginnings of conscious citizenship — that is, of conscious membership in social groups larger than the family and neighborhood. There are still many civic problems with which they can have no responsible concern until they are much older; but there are many others that they can begin to consider now, because of the concreteness of their "appreciative" experience, as reached through local social contacts.

Is the young citizen naturally interested in ethical questions, especially when they touch, but do not blend with, his own conduct? For example, which of the following questions might well serve as "key approaches" to important ethical problems for these learners?

Kinds of problems. Should pupils be asked to consider pros and cons of problems like the following, in response

to fundamental questions? The approach may be made through the general formula, "Is it right that":

Men should be hanged for crimes?

Boys under 16 should be sent to jail for what the law calls felonies?

A man should have an income of a million dollars a year?

Majorities should settle matters and coerce minorities?

Men should use streets who have not paid anything toward making them?

Incomes should be taxed?

Blind people should be compelled to earn their own livings?

A man's property should be forcibly taken by a railroad line, he being compensated therefor?

Men without licenses should be prevented from practicing medicine?

Sale of liquor should be prohibited?

Immigration of Chinese should be prevented?

Poor people should pay no taxes?

Interest should be charged for loans?

Landlords should charge whatever rent they can get?

Textbooks should be supplied to pupils free?

Mails should be censored in war time?

Movies should be censored?

Small groups of men should own large factories or mines?

It should be so difficult to amend the Constitution?

Religious denominations should be allowed to maintain their own schools?

Drunken men should be arrested and put in jail or fined?

Conscientious objectors should be sent to jail in war time?

A man should be compelled to pay school taxes when he has no children to educate?

Children of poor parents should have to leave school at 14?

People who cannot pay rent should be evicted?

A man should refuse to belong to any political party if he desires?

A man should elect to change to another party after some years in the first party?

A man should vote against the nominee of his party?

A man should refuse to be a soldier because he does not believe in war?

- A man should live on an inheritance, doing no other work than looking after investments?
- A rich man should hold a public job?
- A man should hold a lot vacant in a city for rising values?
- A city should require uniform fares on street cars for long and for short distances?
- An employer should be free to dismiss workers when he thinks he can get better ones?
- A grocer should charge what he can get when food is scarce?
- Rich people should use flowers lavishly at entertainments?
- Rich people should keep many servants in war times? in peace times?
- A man should refuse to obey what he thinks is a bad law?
- A pupil should refuse to tell on a classmate who has done wrong?
- Men in chronically poor health should not marry?
- Men should refuse to read newspapers?
- A farmer unable to look fully after a big farm should leave half of it permanently idle?
- A man with a small income and four small children should refuse to support his dependent father? aunt? cousin?
- Negroes should be compelled to ride in separate cars from whites?
- The skilled workers in a trade should limit the number of persons who may be permitted to learn that trade?
- A man should refuse to employ a physician for his very sick child because he does not believe in the use of medicine to heal the sick?
- A representative in Congress or a legislature should vote as he thinks his constituents want him to vote, although in his judgment that way is wrong?
- A representative in Congress or a legislature should vote according to his own convictions even when he thinks his constituents want him to vote the other way?
- A government should aid the business men of the country in competing with the business men of another country?
- A country should impose heavy protective tariffs on the products of another country?

F. The "Case Problem" Method

The "case problem" method involves bringing to the attention of pupils one or more social cases or realistic situations from which naturally grow problems analogous to those found in political life. These cases may well be hypothetical but should correspond closely to actual conditions, as do "cases" in law schools. For example:

Hypothetical (or realistic) Case. In a certain state are about 5000 square miles of hilly and mountainous country which were once covered with dense forest. In early days much of this land was given as grants by colonial or state governments to individuals or corporations who began cutting wood and lumber on it. Lumbering proceeded later at a rapid rate until the old forests had disappeared. When such a forest is cleared and no fires follow, shrubbery springs up and within twenty or more years a new growth of trees can be cut off. However, the present owners of the land plant no trees, and when they are lumbering they cannot afford (so they think) to clear up the waste products as they take away the logs, in such a way that fires can be prevented. For two or three years following such fires the rains and melting snows sluice much of the soft soil, including the rich "humus," down into the streams, where it is lost forever. This washing away of the soil fills up some lower river channels and causes floods, but the greatest damage is the depletion of the mountain lands for future generations.

1. Readings can be suggested, showing the history of similar situations in China, Palestine, California; of the tree-planting experiences of France, Germany, southern California; and as to present governmental policies in New England, the Appalachians, the Western Forest Reserves, etc.

2. Specific problems, in part of applying such knowledge as the pupils now possess to the disentanglement of some of

the questions involved, and in part of "working out" particular difficulties, could then be provided. For example:

a. Is it right that the owners of this land should be free to do as they will with it?

b. Should the state or nation compel them to adopt expensive methods of lumbering or replanting without giving compensation?

c. Is the state justified in buying such land under rights of "eminent domain"?

d. Scores of other useful questions could be devised.

It should be noted that in the main this is the method now used by conscientious and self-informing citizens in arriving at final decisions as to sound policies.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

COURSES OF STUDY FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

FOR administrative purposes the "means and methods" of any systematized form of instruction or training are conveniently organized into subjects and courses. In the general field of civic, as in physical, education it is to be expected that terminology will remain flexible, perhaps often indeterminate, for some years, owing to uncertainties as to valid objectives.

Subjects. It is, of course, correct to designate as "subjects," American history, civics, and economics. But "courses" in these adapted to particular ends of civic education, and again adapted to the varying maturities, abilities, and environments of pupils, will require carefully descriptive designations if they are to serve a useful purpose.

But the term "subject" applies very inadequately to certain other obviously valuable means of civic education. Scouting, civic readings, dramatic projects, case problem economies, and social problems will have to be offered as "courses" unless some more acceptable term can be found.

In this chapter the word "course" will therefore be freely used to designate a portion of a subject or a somewhat systematized grouping of activities in a field that is only by courtesy to be called a subject. Many of the courses referred to will be of the "short unit" variety — that is, they may extend only four, six, or eight weeks, instead of over a half-year or year as has often been customary in the past.

In the light of present experience the following inferences are submitted as to courses in civic education that might well be provided, in some cases on an experimental basis, in progressive schools during the next few years. These inferences are necessarily still tentative. They seem to the writer the logical outcome of the findings in previous chapters

as to the needs, conditions, and methods of civic education. Nevertheless, it is certain that only well-planned and carefully executed experimentation can finally give us effective courses. It is assumed that in the first six grades no "departmental" or specialized teaching service is provided. In Grades 7 to 12, on the other hand, it is expected that all phases of organized social education in a given school will be concentrated in the hands of one or two departmental teachers.

FIRST SIX GRADES

1. **For children from 6 to 9 years of age**, let us assume a school day of six hours (to include one or two hours' supervised physical play). Of this time 20 per cent might well be given to social education. Some of the possible objectives of social education for these grades will be achieved through large correlations with games, discipline, general reading, and possible practical-arts projects, language studies, and the like. The 20 per cent time allotment given indicates the "weight" to be attached to objectives of purposive social education, even where these are realized through correlations with other studies. Short courses in the following are recommended:

a. Dramatized projects — festivals, masques, etc. — of kinds now well developed in all progressive schools. With these may be included training in flag salutes, and patriotic singing. The literature of primary education now abounds in serviceable examples.

b. A very few genuine service projects are practicable for these ages. Those practicable will center largely in maintenance of school order and cleanliness, but may include a few connecting with homes, and, rarely, for relief or commemoration service to community (as suggested by Red Cross activities). The ideals of moral, rather than of civic, education should probably control.

c. Developmental talks and readings, ranging from inspirational tales of heroes and signal events, to attractively given talks on law observance, clean town, good citizenship, patriotism, and the like.

d. Community civics, through exploratory and interpretive contacts with accessible agencies of public or other general service in the neighborhood — including agencies of government (post office, street or highway, policing, water supply, fire protection) and private general utilities (stores, street cars, lighting, newspapers, etc.). Even in the lower grades much of value can be accomplished through practicable short units, if methods appropriate to developmental education are adhered to.

e. Salient or framework history. For these grades, definite memorization of central facts (with appreciations of “halo” situations) as to perhaps ten or twenty salient dates, names, and events in American history, together with a smaller number of those in world history, should be the goals of one or more “short unit” courses each year — requiring perhaps not more than ten to twenty hours. Methods of study should include the use of very simple chronological lines, charts, or other graphic devices of kinds that need not be greatly modified throughout grades, but which can be indefinitely extended and proliferated.

2. For age levels 9 to 12, let the “long school day” be also presupposed, as well as the allocation of about 20 per cent of time to civic education.

a. Dramatic projects utilizing elections, commemorations, simple pageants, naturalization, patriotic devotion, all of broader scope than those suggested for earlier grades.

b. Service or participation projects may well include here beginnings of purposive school government for short periods, closing exercises of coöperative nature, group organization of games, and possibly, under some circumstances, “clean

town projects," simple relief projects for poor at holiday time, Red Cross participations, and others.

c. Exploratory projects, visits to local concrete agencies of government (fire protection, police headquarters, street repair, docks, street cleaning, etc.), and also visits to agencies of large-scale production including transportation and exchange — factories, cold-storage plants, street-car transportation, shipping, department-store merchandising, etc.

d. Readings. Periodic readings by teachers and of assignments by pupils, about founders, significant events, contemporary enterprises, with beginnings of critical and friendly evaluation of governmental agencies, public utilities, and other social mechanisms affecting the local general welfare.

e. Social-science problems. These must await development of printed matter to guide teachers. Sources are to be found in problems of trade, relief, street cleaning, etc., as they may be found accessible to learners of this age.

f. Salient or framework history — key dates, events, and a few broad historical findings to be made matters of memorization.

SECOND SIX GRADES

3. The really great opportunities for the development of genuine civic education in American public schools are to be found between the age levels of 12 and 18. It is now agreed that here departmental or specialized teaching service can and will be provided where necessary. At these levels it is increasingly practicable to differentiate pupils into groups, where their best educational interests require it. The educational success of scouting and club work are evidences of the vitality of the motives that have been appealed to by these agencies. All boys and girls under 14 are now required to attend school full time in all but a very few backward states. In states representing far more than half the population,

part-time attendance is obligatory to 16, whilst in most communities from 30 to 70 per cent of children from 14 to 16 voluntarily attend school full time.

Since we are only in the early stages of the purposive development of civic education for young people, in the first place from 12 to 14 years of age, and next from 14 to 16 and beyond, it is legitimate, in proposing courses that must be as yet essentially experimental in character, to assume the availability of optimum conditions for their first trial flights. For the courses proposed below, therefore, we assume the existence, in an educationally progressive city, of a central junior high school in which are found:

a. Fifteen hundred pupils, including all pupils of seventh and eighth grade rank in the district, as well as all pupils over 12 years of age who have not reached seventh grade.

b. A vice-principal or department head in charge of all kinds and phases of education intended to be primarily civic in its purposes and outcomes.

c. Teachers reasonably well equipped to give instruction in the various social-science subjects; and the same or others prepared to direct, lead, or train in project and other activities expected to function toward civic powers and appreciations.

d. Needed equipment of library reading materials, rooms for debating, facilities for scouting, and the like.

e. A school day of eight hours, including not less than two hours for physical sports and two other hours for "developmental" studies or activities of an intellectual or social nature. To this add the availability of Saturdays and even holidays, from time to time, for scouting and for service projects.

f. School programs sufficiently flexible to permit not only the differentiation of pupils on basis of intelligence, if desired, but also the reconsolidation of these groups for readings, scouting, and projects where differences of intelligence may

be less important than similarities of ideal, social condition, or strong interests.

This large junior high school will, in its 1500 pupils, represent of course a wide diversity of abilities, environments, and prospects. Some will combine high ability with prosperous home conditions; whilst at the opposite extreme some will combine inferior abilities with adverse home influences. A certain number will be the products of high-grade homes, but handicapped in themselves by low native powers; at the other pole will be found some from very poor homes, but endowed with superior abilities.

The shrewd eye of prophecy can also detect broad differences of future prospects already casting their shadows before among these 1500. From two groups, and only two groups of those mentioned above, are likely to come the future professional men and women as well as the bulk of political and other "large group" leaders. A large proportion are destined to be "just average" American citizens — well meaning, indeed, but never very well informed, intensely partisan, or idealistic. From 60 to 80 per cent of these pupils will have no school education after 16 years of age.

Guiding principles. Under the conditions assumed, and with such knowledge as we can now assemble, what courses should be provided? What, if any, should be prescribed in substance or content for all alike? What, if any, prescribed by title for all, but with varying content for different ability or interest levels? The following guiding principles are submitted for further criticism:

a. Assuming that in the two years or grades of the junior high school there are roundly available about 3000 hours for all forms of school education, there is arbitrarily reserved 20 per cent of this or 600 hours for all forms of civic education; and every pupil will be required to give that amount of time to this field.

b. The offerings of civic education shall be of several kinds, each clearly differentiated as to purpose, means, and methods, and each organized on some convenient "short unit" basis hereafter to be determined experimentally. For present purposes it will be assumed that 60 hours will be the measure of a "short unit" course (the equivalent of one hour daily for sixty school days or twelve weeks, which is one third of a 180-day school year or one "quarter" of the "four quarter" school year which will eventually prevail). But it must not be assumed that a sixty-hour course will invariably consist of sixty one-hour sessions distributed through sixty successive school days. A scouting course of sixty hours might consist of fifteen four-hour meetings on fifteen designated Saturdays. Project work and readings will in any event require much greater flexibility of arrangement than "framework history" and civil-government subjects.

c. Offerings for civic education shall be divided into two categories, (1) developmental and (2) projective. Each pupil must during his two years take not less than three short courses of each type, and he may not take more than six courses of the developmental type unless his general scholarship is "superior" — on a grading of excellent, superior, modal, inferior, bad; or A (to include 10 per cent of all pupils under normal conditions), B (20 per cent), C (40 per cent), D (20 per cent), and E (10 per cent).

d. The following shall be the projective offerings:

- (1) Salient or framework American history A (elective by all pupils); 30 hours each year.
- (2) Salient American history B (an advanced "hard" course recommended for pupils of superior abilities who expect to remain several years in school); 60 hours, eighth grade.
- (3) Civil government or formal civics, 60 hours, either year.

- (4) Social problems, adapted to seventh-grade pupils of less than average abilities; 60 hours.
- (5) Social problems, adapted to seventh-grade pupils of more than average abilities; 60 hours.
- (6) Politico-economic problems of contemporary importance but studied with conscious reference to historical origins and parallels, 60 hours (recommended for abler pupils in eighth grade).
- (7) Political or civic problems of contemporary interest (recommended for less able pupils in eighth grade).

c. The following shall be the "developmental" offerings:

- (1) Sixty hours of "service projects," to be varied from year to year, and to include, when conditions are favorable, maintenance of school self-government under specified conditions.
- (2) Sixty hours of scouting.
- (3) Sixty hours of developmental readings in fields of contemporary civic problems.
- (4) Sixty hours of developmental readings in fields of history related to contemporary civic problems.
- (5) Sixty hours of debating and civic dramatization.
- (6) An advanced course in economic readings, open to gifted pupils.
- (7) A reading course in world political history, open to pupils of talent.
- (8) A current-events course in politics for pupils of less than average abilities.

4. The purposes and procedures suggested for the above courses may for the present suffice to suggest proposals for higher grades. "Problem" courses will, of course, become more important and more difficult in higher grades. "Reading courses" will certainly become more comprehensive and

serious. Project methods may prove less, rather than more, available as the "scouting" age is past, and it is hard to see much of a future for dramatic projects between the ages of 15 and 18. "Projective" courses in economics, civics, and even sociology are clearly practicable provided they are not overloaded with formal and needless detail — provided, that is, that in the minds of learners they actually do function as "framework" courses.

CHAPTER TWELVE

PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH

MUCH research may be expected in the near future looking to the determination of society's needs for civic education, the best specific objectives of such education, and its most effective means and methods.

The appended suggestions grow directly out of the discussions contained in the preceding pages. They are designed in part to indicate the scope and variety of the problems involved.

Present possibilities of research in the field of civic education include: (*a*) study of general and specific needs of civic education, school and non-school; (*b*) appraisal of the present contributions of non-school agencies; (*c*) appraisal of contributions of civic by-education in schools through discipline, readings, sports, etc.; (*d*) critical examination of American and other history studies as means of civic education; (*e*) critical evaluation of "civics," "community civics," economics, and other similar didactic materials as means of civic education; (*f*) appraisal of other means now employed in schools primarily toward civic education, including social-service projects, dramatic projects, pageants, school self-government, civic readings, etc.; (*g*) proposed restatement of objectives; and (*h*) proposed new or reorganized means and methods.

THE "CASE GROUP" METHOD

But research along these lines, involving such complex social composites as the citizenry of a nation, province (American state), or urban or rural municipality, is practically beyond resources now available. Such undertakings would be analogous to chemical analysis of a shovelful of earth, biological analysis of an armful of plants, or economic

analysis of the population and activities of a city — all of which were impracticable in the early stages of these sciences.

Partition or segregation of social phenomena is, therefore, necessary for research in civic education. Two kinds might be employed. (a) Individual cases — a man, a woman, a child — might be studied, their civic virtues diagnosed and evaluated, and proposed means and methods of correcting defects in present or potentially similar cases might be devised. (b) Since, however, civic behavior, though springing from individuals, usually operates and becomes significant through groups of resembling individuals, probably a more profitable approach can be found in the study of the prevailing qualities of fairly homogeneous case groups.

A case group is here taken to mean a group, class, level, or other aggregation of individuals all of whom possess one or more defined qualities of resemblance. For purposes of case-group study any qualities may be taken — sex, age, race, color, vocation, wealth, intelligence, habitat, education, religion, taste, etc. For example: Case Group D. Skilled mechanics (male) earning not less than \$1500 or more than \$2500 annually at 25–40 years of age, of at least one generation American ancestry, working in the automobile industries of Michigan. Case Group E. Negro women, age 30–50, working at least 200 days per year as field hands in Alabama, averaging third-grade schooling. Case Group F. Men, college graduates, 35–60 years of age, in commercial vocations. Case Group G. Boys, 17–19 years of age, left school at 14, average sixth-grade schooling, employed from 2 to 5 years at good wages in juvenile vocations. Case Group H. Girls, super-average intelligence, ages 12–14, now in seventh school grade; very good home environment; will probably go through high school and at least one year in college; about half will marry before 30, remainder will seek promotion in professional or commercial work.

The segregation of case groups of adults permits analysis and evaluation of civic qualities now found, from which may be derived findings as to desirable specific school objectives of civic education for next generation. For example, making allowance for some variants, how will Groups D and F above compare as regards: prevailing patriotism; interest in economical and efficient expenditure of public funds by governmental agencies; devotion to public education; support of forest conservation; promotion of social "destructionism"; political party activity?

What will be the prevailing "virtues of conformity" of Case Group F? What do they know about the tariff legislation, recall of officials, town planning, the League of Nations, the promotion of better public schools? By what standards should we say that these negroes are "prevaingly good citizens"? "bad citizens"? Under different educational conditions how should the civic potentialities of their children be expected to differ from the present civic qualities of Case Group H?

Are the members of Case Group G now citizens? When and how will they probably become members of political parties? What are their present prominent civic virtues? civic vices? Into what sub-groups could they probably be divided on the basis of civic behavior?

Sharp distinctions must here be made between the needs of research and the needs of school administration. The results of case group study may not be immediately applicable in framing courses or other means of civic education. Certainly this will be the situation in schools of highly composite character — as are usually junior and senior high schools in medium-sized or small cities, and sometimes in large cities.

Nevertheless, it is doubtful if any better method can be found to carry us beyond present *deductive, a priori* proce-

dures in framing courses in civic education, or toward scientific determination of objectives. No one can prove that present practices — based chiefly upon history studies and didactic civics — are effective as sources of civic ideals or insights, except for a small minority of the more imaginative students.

Here again we can profitably apply analogies from the natural sciences. Researches in chemistry, electricity, agriculture, bridge-building, etc., are first executed on a laboratory scale and free from the complicating conditions of commercial application, until details are settled; then commercial applications can profitably be studied by means specialized for that purpose. The teacher who asks at the outset, "But how could I use that in *my* school?" is like the impatient child uprooting the seed at the end of a week "to see if it is growing."

NEEDS OF CIVIC EDUCATION

What are contemporary needs of civic education? Sociological research is readily practicable here, even for teachers and others who can give only moderate time to it, provided standards are not too exacting and students are willing to accept "common sense" formulations of social values. Examples:

(a) The war gave concrete tests of various functions of national patriotism — for young men, voluntary enlistment; for mothers, willingness to let their sons serve; for business leaders, dollar-a-day service; for unionized laborers, willingness to forgo strikes; for recent immigrants, unalloyed devotion to land of adoption, etc.

What harmful defects of the patriotism which should, in war time, normally be expected of the group, class, or level, were prevailingly shown by: illiterate men, 40-60, Kentucky; Polish coal miners, 20-30, Pennsylvania; wives of owning

farmers of German extraction, Iowa and Missouri; negro workingmen, 30-60, literate and fairly prosperous in Northern cities? other groups? Thus can be ascertained needs of one type of civic education. It should be remembered that we are constantly making such valuations now, as contributing to public opinion. The proposed studies contemplate simply greater precision and less passion.

(b) Recent legislation prohibiting manufacture or sale of alcoholic beverages encounters much opposition and tempts many to lawbreaking. Do the lawless come from some distinguishable social groups more than from others? from owning farmers? high-school boys? educated women with children? recent immigrant Italian manual laborers? public-school teachers (men)? miscellaneous unskilled laborers of American ancestry? Thus ascertain needs of a second type of civic education.

(c) The successful performance of political functions on the part of the citizen requires a certain amount of uncompensated service — from two hours required for voting to one hundred or more given to committee work, attending meetings, even helping in campaigns. Subject to limitations in their opportunities, how do the following groups compare as respects the amount of such service they prevailingly give: men high-school teachers; physicians; women homemakers of at least high-school education, and family incomes of \$6000 or more per year; lay leaders in Methodist churches; young women clerks in department stores? Age levels and perhaps racial origins could profitably be employed as bases of further partition of these groups.

This method is capable of indefinite extension, analyzing the behavior of any civic group in respect to any specific civic virtue. To the objections that it is difficult, and not fully conclusive, it must be replied in the first place that any other method seems still more difficult and uncertain,

if it is to be scientific. What the "easy generalizers" do is to pass judgments upon unspecified or unbounded groups. "Americans are dollar chasers." "High-school pupils have no respect for law." "Negroes are lawless." "The Irish-Americans were not patriotic in the late war." "We are not a united people." Such are the currency of superficial thinkers and proponents of special aspirations.

Needs. What are some of the needs for more or better forms of civic education which can properly be met by the schools? Civic education is, obviously, largely a matter of extra-school agencies — home, political parties, labor unions, newspapers, etc. But some things the schools — elementary, high, collegiate — can do better than other agencies — such as giving perspective in American history, disentangling economic and other social problems, perhaps inspiring ideals. Here also many problems of research can be proposed.

(a) What are defects of civic ideals now characteristic of Rocky Mountain farmers against which the best schools now know how to forearm the rising generation? Same for prosperous business men, graduates of high schools? Same for women school teachers?

(b) Wherein does the "good citizenship" of adult Jewish immigrants now aged 30-60, who entered the country under 12 years of age, fall short because of incomplete or distorted knowledge of American history? or of the correlation of American history with that of their parent land? From this deduce: conclusions as to kinds of "special" history study desirable for children of specific classes of immigrants.

The foregoing inquiries apply to what might be called the historic "civic virtues" — those that contributed to the good citizenship of 1776, 1812, 1861, as well as that of today. But inquiries should also be made as to the "new" virtues required by our altered "large group" social conditions. It is commonplace that our municipal organizations, our inter-

national connections, our internal economic interdependence, and many other of our public or quasi-public relationships have become increasingly complex in geometrical ratio, since 1870. Presumably these impose new strains on citizenship and new demands on civic education.

But here we are in terribly complex fields of sociological investigation in which the busy teacher is about as helpless as he would be in Amazonian wilds. We may here have to wait on the political scientist.

EXTRA-SCHOOL CIVIC EDUCATION

Another profitable field for civic-education research that ought to prove congenial to many teachers is the appraisal of various forms of extra-school education. All about us now are "good citizens" from 30 to 70 years of age, in the making of whom schools played a part, small or large, and the home, street, church, shop, press, and the political party the other parts. The settlers of the Mississippi Valley from 1800 to 1860, averaging a total of less than 250 days' schooling, were, judged by their "fruits," prevailingly good citizens, with exceptions. What were sources of their various civic virtues? Our young men now in business have been educated partly by the press of the last ten years, as well as by their vocational superiors. With what results?

Here again the "case group" method of attack, the will to analyze concrete qualities, and the resolution to avoid vague and mystical generalizations will carry an investigation far.

Similar studies are needed of certain indirect contributions from school life. The discipline of the school, next to that of the home, is the most persistent "small group" control to which growing youth is now subject. The school has some of the characteristics of the state, of which it is a factor. School control nearly always looks to the future, and rests heavily

on law, justice, and rational understanding of social principles of collective behavior.

School discipline may be considered as of several degrees, or even forms, as respects autocracy, rationality, self-determination, democracy, etc. Can analysis of adult case groups trace connections of civic virtues prevailing in adult life with habituations, insights, ideals established in school-life controls?

It is frequently asserted that close connections exist between adult civic virtues and the virtues promoted through the voluntary coöperations and competitions of sports, games, inter-school athletics, etc. Enthusiasms here usually claim too much. Was Waterloo won on the field of Eton or did Eton attract those who must win at Waterloo?

What virtues of adult citizens are in a measure traceable to fraternities? Do these self-active social groups select the most socialized? Do they socialize the highly individualistic? What kinds of citizenship in later adult life would their members represent if fraternity experience had been denied?

American history. More difficult is research to discover the actual contributions to civic efficiency of American history as it has been taught. The proponents of this subject as a means of civic education (its contributions to general culture belong in a different category) have not yet defined concrete objectives against which accomplishments could be tested — or have they? Some enthusiastic teachers manifestly use the subject (departing widely from the guidance of texts which most teachers must follow) as a means of kindling patriotic ideals. Case-group studies of adults might give results here. Perhaps civic appreciations and insights of other kinds come from such study — but the entire situation is vague as yet.

What of the "literary" materials often correlated with history — historical novels, patriotic poems, biographies,

tales of adventure? From these may often come ideals, some vision. Under what conditions? Diagnosis of adult "civic efficiencies" and disentanglement of source influences is rendered difficult by the fact that many leaders, men of vision, influential patriots, stern upholders of law, reformers, and the like represent exceptional gifts of heredity and non-school environment. They would probably have been potent of civic virtues even without the ideals given by contact with inspiring materials in school, library, and press.

A large part of purposive civics teaching in the past has been exclusively by the method of "didactic inculcation" — the study of formal texts composed of logically organized descriptive matter, with usual recitations, etc. Can any research now be devised to discover possible functionings of this didactic civics? The effort would be well worth while.

Many other means are now supposed to contribute to civic efficiency. The "functionings" of these should be critically examined, if that is yet practicable, under case-group conditions. Among these are:

- (a) Civic-service "projects" or activities.
- (b) Dramatic activities or projects, including commemoration festivals and pageants.
- (c) High-school or college economics.
- (d) High-school or college sociology.
- (e) School self-government.
- (f) General readings on topics of civic interest.

VALUES OF SCHOOL SUBJECTS

It should prove readily practicable for teachers to make many specific studies of possible expansions or improvements in means and methods already partially developed, having in view concrete adaptations. This method has of course always been followed in some degree by makers of texts and

courses. Recent pedagogical advances ought to make the method more productive, especially when it is based on previous analysis of case-group requirements. Constructive studies here should demand: (a) very careful definitions, including delimitations of expected aims and of scope of subject-matter; (b) specific adaptations to proposed case groups; and (c) invention of as many devices as practicable. The following departments of study or school activity now provide large possibilities for such inquiries:

(a) American history, retaining chronological order, encyclopedic content, and didactic presentation. Proposed rewritings might be planned so as to confine emphasis, except for skeleton outline, to subjects probably vital to the civic behavior, fifteen years hence, of men and women citizens, 30 to 50 years of age, of only elementary school education and an income under \$2000 — the form to be adapted to seventh and eighth grade pupils of average intelligence, taught by teachers responsible for all subjects except manual training and household arts.

(b) Social (or civic) service projects, typified by "clean town" campaigns, help of sick, coöperation in policing, grading of school grounds, tree planting, and others where valuable service to neighborhood results. (1) Not many valuable projects have yet been discovered. (2) Teachers have little information as to their difficulty, adaptations to grades, time required, and ultimate contributions to civic behavior, or motives thereto. An ingenious social-science teacher could now assemble a helpful little book in this area. (3) Neither is adequate information accessible as to adaptations of these projects to girls or to boys, to cities or to villages, to prosperous or to poor environments.

(c) Dramatic projects, including commemoration festivals, and pageants. Many of these are now available for all grades, but their actual contributions respectively to civic insight,

appreciation, and ideals are uncertain. Obviously the moving picture has great possibilities here. It seems now to be believed that dramatic projects are valuable for learners far removed from the normal American social inheritance — recent immigrants, “poor whites,” negroes, products of poor environments. Are they valuable for superior high-school or college students?

(d) “Observation and Report” projects, including school-conducted visits of inspection to places of governmental service, productive plants, hospitals, etc., are now used, but their actual or probable functionings are poorly analyzed as yet. Neither has systematic examination been made of best means and methods.

(e) School discipline, with self-government as a sub-species, has obviously been regarded chiefly as a means of conserving the order needed for school training and instruction in the “school” subjects. But it is patently a possible means to certain kinds of civic education also. What — for the conformist virtues of “small group” life, for correction of gang or other small group vices? Social psychology would help here.

“School self-government” in any one of its forms may be a poor or expensive means of maintaining working order — but may it not be a very effective and economical means of civic education? Partly on basis of service projects, and partly on basis of dramatic projects? If on “project” basis should it not always be for definite terms — one month, three months — or for specific areas of action — volunteer activities, clean and orderly building, lunchroom control, etc.?

(f) Coöperative and competitive sports usually have their controlling ends in satisfaction of play instincts. Can by-products important for civic ends be developed? Will such procedure defeat more important ends of physical development?

(g) Didactic civics or civil government studies are now general, and the market supplies a wealth of competing texts. Are "follow-up" studies of results now practicable? Is it a good guess that these studies make little abiding impression on learners of sub-average abilities, and leave valuable results only with the strongly imaginative and ambitious?

Suggestive studies of adult groups should here be practicable; also of students two or four years after taking courses, to discover ideals or insights closely related to civic behavior.

Civic texts vary greatly. They seldom state their objectives, however. Sometimes they claim much for their "problems," "topics," even "projects." Are these claims fulfilled in practice? Teachers with clearly defined and documented hypotheses as to the desirable and practicable objectives of civic education could evaluate these texts comparatively in terms of objectives held by the teacher. Such studies would be valuable only in proportion to the soundness of the investigator's theories of educational objectives, obviously.

(h) The questions of (g) also apply to didactic economics, sociology, and social science, as junior or senior high-school subjects. These subjects, as usually taught, seem of doubtful validity in civic education, except again for a rare type of student. Obviously, as in civics, the possible content of knowledge for these courses is endlessly rich. Is poverty of resulting interest due chiefly to faulty adaptation of materials and languages of presentation to powers of learners? or to poor methods of teaching, especially as implied in "didactic method"? or to poorly equipped teachers? May it not be that the entire method basis is a wrong one for this type of subject-matter or for proposed objectives?

(i) What of the possibilities of expanded and consistently followed "problems" method courses for Grades 7 to 12 in this type of educational field — that is, where systematized

knowledge as well as a rich background of personal experience is available on part of learners?

(j) What of the possibilities of fully developed "readings and conference" methods in this field? Successful examples of "problem" or "readings" methods are so few that parallel examples are hardly yet available. But close analytical study of certain objectives, and of the adaptation of these methods to serving them, seem to promise rich results.

(k) "Community civics" as based partly on a flexible "reading" text and partly on observational access to, and partial interpretations of, local situations, has apparently proved functional for Grades 4 to 7. Is it a good method beyond? Will it serve "large group" objectives?

(l) The time is ripe for careful study of results in adult civic behavior of scouting and some other organized forms of extra-school civic education.

(m) For the well-equipped sociological student certain other studies of extra-school education are practicable. (1) Take twenty men, 30 to 40 years of age, who now rank manifestly as "good" citizens in their respective spheres. Study their social growth and experiences since leaving school, having in mind especially their current reading, political-party associations, participation in voting and other civic activities, including vocational group membership. In what respects and to what extent can their present "good" citizenship be ascribed to their self-education and to their education from group contacts subsequent to school life? Do most political leaders get their special equipments of knowledge, habit, and ideal at this time?

(2) Take the names of twenty boys who left school at 14 years of age twenty years ago. Diagnose their present civic behavior. Endeavor to ascertain what varieties and degrees of the ideals, appreciations, attitudes, and understandings affecting that behavior have derived from the

reading done since leaving school, as a consequence of the reading habits and powers assured by the school.

Means and methods. Another no less promising field of study for busy teachers consists in the close analytic study of possible adaptations of the means and methods suggested above (or others) to carefully diagnosed case groups of learners. It is not, of course, certain that we can always isolate for purposes of administering curricula, school groups as clearly defined as our case groups — and possibly we should not desire to do so if we could, for social reasons that need not be discussed here. Nevertheless, such specific studies are now absolutely essential to bring us to close grips with concrete problems of educational values. Is there any other way open?

The following are illustrations of this method of inquiry:

(a) A certain large urban junior high school of 1200 pupils in seventh and eighth grades contains one hundred boys entering seventh grades (pupils' Case Group MB) to whom the following description and prognosis apply with substantial precision:

(1) They are the sons of moderately skilled artisan workers of American ancestry whose work is not very regular, who have meager savings, do not own their residences, and are quite migratory. At present these fathers work in large factories. Mothers do not work for wages. Parents represent an average of only about sixth-grade education. They are ambitious for the education of their children, but willing to help only the brightest through high school. The fathers belong to unions, are frequently on "strike," and have only passing interests in ordinary politics — some of them being, indeed, pretty cynical as to existing government. Parents are law-abiding, some good church members.

(2) These hundred boys represent pupils testing at less

than average intelligence for their ages, 12 to 15. Their homes are small and dingy, and sanitary conditions — smoke, cleanliness, flies, drainage — of their part of city poor. Parks are inadequate, the streets being chief playgrounds. These boys have all passed sixth grade, but, being of sub-average intelligence, often of migratory families, and having thus far been schooled in crowded classes taught by half-competent teachers, they have lost interest in school. Thus far they have had little direct civic education. Their school behavior is fair, they have shared in commemorative festivals, and have a fair appreciation of the salient facts and personages of American history. They are not vicious, though easily stimulated to rowdyism. They are healthy in a crude way, and strongly disposed to rough physical sports for which their environment gives scant opportunity. They are anxious to go to work — animated in part perhaps by the craving of their bodies for physical activity, in part by the desire to do manly things, but chiefly to earn the money for which they experience strong needs. They expect to enter juvenile vocations — after 14, when compulsory school attendance ends — and have only faintest conceptions of possibilities or desirability of training for vocations.

(3) Prognosis. The boys here considered will leave school at 14 or 16 years of age and will go to no high school or vocational school. From ten to twenty years later they will almost certainly be wage earners in the semi-skilled factory pursuits or in the skilled trades. From age 24 on they will have families and will experience a hard struggle to support these. Their civic outlook on life, unless the schools can modify it, will be like that of their fathers — largely indifferent, but at times furiously inclined to believe that law and government favor other than wage-takers in the processes of production. As a rule the magnitude and complexity of political conditions will baffle their attempts to be individu-

ally of significance in political action — hence they will vote as partisan supporters or opponents of men and measures having sources far from their own ranks. But, due to environment and home training, they will not incline to lawlessness.

(4) Assumptions. These boys, leaving school at 14 to 16, will have finished the eighth grade. In seventh and eighth grades are departmental teachers in charge of all phases of direct civic education, for which 20 per cent of school time (seven hours daily for 180 days per year to cover school and home work) is available. (This 20 per cent includes all history, but excludes school government and physical sports.) Flexibility of curriculum permits extensive adaptations of courses (30 to 360 hours in length) to particular groups. Students are given choice of several civic subjects, but all are required to devote to this general department 20 per cent of their school time.

Having in view these conditions, prepare a series of courses specifically adapted to the needs and possibilities of these learners, drawing on any and all kinds of civic subjects. Describe the specific aims, extent, content, method, and necessary administrative conditions of each course in detail. Suggest possible experimental studies to procure light on unsettled questions.

(b) In best modern high schools considerable election of subjects is permitted. In such schools will be found in each entering class a substantial number of girls to whom the following descriptions and prognoses apply with fair accuracy (Case Group PN): (1) These girls are all above the average of girls of their age in intelligence — many being very bright. They come from well-kept prosperous homes where sumptuary standards are high and tend to be extravagant.

(2) They have done well in elementary schools, but their present civic outlook is almost wholly that of their homes and "class" environment, little affected by church, school, or

general readings. They are conventional, devoted to fashion, have easily awakened but unstable sympathies, and no great respect for teachers. General health is fair.

(3) Prognosis. Most of them will go through high school and spend at least two years in a liberal arts college. All will plan to "work" — in a profession, or something "nice," but only one third of them will finally settle into teaching, social work, or commerce. About one half will marry. Nearly all from 30 to 60 will have time and means to be influential in their communities, especially in churches or clubs. Most of them will, toward middle life, become increasingly interested in civic affairs.

(4) Assumptions. The high school can recommend courses in civic education during four years of high school — history, civics, economics, social-science problems, as well as some "service" projects and civic readings — up to one fourth of the total time — about 6000 hours for school and home work.

Problems for investigation. What kinds of courses would you make available for these potential leaders? What aims should control, content and method be provided, and administrative conditions be met?

(c) Similar problems for analytical study can easily be devised in the effort to adapt to the case groups given below, the various contributions of school discipline, didactic civics, American history, service projects, dramatic projects, civic readings, and the rest:

(1) Boys and girls, ages 4-6, from poor urban environment.

(2) Boys and girls, 6-9, from good rural environment, not permitting school consolidation.

(3) Boys and girls, 9-12, poor urban environment, only very exceptional ones probably going through high school.

(4) Boys, 12-15, in junior high school, from manual-laboring class environment; alien ancestry; above average

mentally; will probably go half or all way through high school at much sacrifice to parents; may begin earning in manual-laboring class work, but at 30-50 may be expected to be leaders in industry or politics.

(5) Boys and girls now in high school in prosperous suburb. Of good ability, but low civic interests. Are as much interested in gambling, and "beating" the prohibition law, as in dances and athletics. Have little interest in studies, but keenly afraid of "not passing." Will inherit money from recently grown rich parents, but family traditions of civic morality are low.

(6) Other case groups can readily be defined by experienced teachers.

RELATED PROBLEMS

Other problems of research of a more general and intricate nature are beginning to appear. For example:

(a) Under what circumstances — of age, economic or racial condition, intelligence, social habitat, etc. — are social groups likely to be influenced in their civic ideals, aspirations, and insight by particular adaptations of the fine arts of æsthetic or emotional appeal — music, painting, drama, fiction, the photodrama, etc.? It is unquestionably true that the fine arts have played an important part in social control in former times. It is possible that because of the increasingly rationalistic spirit of our times such methods of appeal are no longer efficacious. But conclusions drawn without close study of the effects of particular arts — or phases of each — on particular ages, social conditions, etc., are obviously without validity.

(b) What are the powers of social comprehension probably capable of being developed in men and women of only average or sub-average intelligence — that is, specific powers of so comprehending the involved economic, political and

other social problems of society, which will enable each individually to reach conclusions sufficiently valid to guide the civic action necessary to insure at least the moderate security of society?

Two opposed theories may be considered. (a) Every person is capable of being educated to such a degree of comprehension, at least of essential principles, that, in a democracy, he can be trusted to make his own decisions and to act on them. (b) A large proportion of the civic problems of today are no more comprehensible by persons of average intelligence than are problems of medicine, bridge-building, naval strategy, or corporation finance. Hence for the safety of democracy the average citizen must be taught above all else, as respects these problems, to do what he does in medicine — wisely select an expert and then implicitly follow his directions.

Much preliminary light on this problem can be had even now by studying the inter-connections of particular civic problems — tariff, reserve banks, court of international relations, silver legal tender, forced incorporation of trade unions, pasturage in forest reserves, public control of railroads — with the intelligence equipment of stated case groups — college men in business; women school teachers, aged 20-30; skilled miners, aged 40-60; clubwomen, etc.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

FREEDOM OF TEACHING SOCIAL SCIENCES

THERE is every reason to expect that we shall soon build up a body of special social-science teachers in and for our secondary schools. Unlike contemporary teachers of history — some of whose work they may indeed have to take over — these social-science teachers may be expected to become increasingly conscious of the *civic objectives* of their work. Society — or at least those members in it whose opinions finally determine these matters — will increasingly judge the results of the work of these teachers, not in terms of so much knowledge acquired or examinations passed, but rather by the civic character and achievements of the men and women whom their pupils become.

It is already evident that these social-science teachers, in proportion as they modernize and vitalize their instruction, will be constantly skirting the fringes, if not actually invading the twilight zones, of disputed issues. They will constantly be tempted to challenge or to uphold creeds and opinions held by sects, parties, and propagandists. If they are allowed no freedom whatever to enter into areas of disagreement their hands as teachers will be tied. But if they are given complete liberty to follow the dictates of their own judgments, and especially feelings, they can easily become disruptive agencies of a disastrous kind. By what principles should society be guided in controlling them, and by what principles should those of these teachers be guided who most fully cherish genuine liberty — that is, the liberties of others no less than of themselves?

PROBLEMS OF FREEDOM IN TEACHING THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The issues upon which men of the Occidental nations now divide are chiefly social. Our ancestors fought long and

bitterly over religious differences; but with us these are no longer seriously divisive or vital. But our emotions are strongly aroused over questions of the "rightness" of private property, the "value" of the monogamous family, the justice of the "open shop," the actual meaning of freedom of speech, and the free admission of immigrants. Life tenure for appointed justices, profit-taking as the reward of enterprise, birth control, public supervision of private schools, state control of railways, the "coöpting" of wage workers in industrial enterprise, conservation of game, prohibition of the sale of liquor, the sterilization of criminals, the legal protection of seamen, are but samples of the hundreds of issues upon which whole camps are now almost ready to go to war. They represent problems that are of the most vital significance to contemporary citizenship and civilization.

Social-science teachers. The coming social-science teachers in our high schools will necessarily be well informed on most of these problems. They will have studied the underlying facts of history, racial psychology, production and distribution of wealth, and methods of government. Being human, they will have their own opinions; and these will be strong and often clearly defined just because these teachers are specialists in their fields. Being human, and often still young in spirit and strong in enthusiasm, they will desire to teach to the full the truth as they see it. What shall be, from the standpoint of the higher social expediency, their rights and privileges here? What restrictions shall society — through its proper representatives — impose upon them, having duly in mind not only immediate peace and harmony, but that remoter evolution toward just and life-giving policies which society must finally desire?

The subject is not without its history. Probably at all times, priests, prophets, educators, statesmen, writers, and publicists have been persecuted for teaching that which

they strongly believed to be the true and the right. Some college teachers of the natural sciences have, during the last century, chosen to break upon the rocks of opposition, rather than yield what they believed to be their academic rights to teach geology or biology as they interpreted these subjects. Teachers of history in school and college have often been viewed with suspicion. But more fresh in our minds are the difficulties of college teachers of the social sciences. As said before, the most divisive issues of the present are found here. Business men have not hesitated to charge that many of our college professors of economics are, or were until recently, "blank" socialists. The leaders of the manual workers, on the other hand, affect to believe that most of these men are paid to teach as "the interests" think best.

But much of this history seems inconclusive for the matters here considered. Perhaps college teachers of the social sciences still find it no less so. It seems probable that some recent apparent invasions of freedom of teaching have been directed rather at extreme tactlessness of manner or hopeless misinterpretations of social values. It is probable that some college teachers have kept silent on grave issues from desire to avoid trouble. But it is no less probable that many have refrained from wearing their intellectual hearts on their sleeves, not because of fear, but because of unwillingness heavily to capitalize what must in the very nature of the case have been interpretations and opinions of only partially assured validity. They have suspended individual private judgments somewhat at least out of respect to the collective judgments of parties.

Debatable issues. It is fundamentally important to recognize that contentious issues in the realm of the social sciences arise largely over interpretations of *social values* or *worths*. Only seldom are questions of *fact*, as the term is properly used in the natural sciences, in history, and in legal

cases, involved. One faction holds that "it is better" (or more democratic; more just; more in accordance with nature, with divine law, or with the spirit of liberty) for the closed shop to prevail, for railroads to be publicly managed, for cities to have home rule, for immigration to be free, for the burdens of public education to be widely diffused, for the Japanese to be restrained from holding real estate, for collateral inheritances to be taxed 100 per cent, for operatives to share in the management of plants, for observance of the Sabbath to be enforced by law, and the like. The opposed faction holds that society will suffer rather than benefit from such procedure.

Probably no one can now, or perhaps ever, prove conclusively that in the long run the abolition of slavery, or the liquor traffic, or of monopolistic trade combinations has been a "good thing" for society; or that freely permitted vivisection, private property in land, manhood suffrage, immigration of non-English-speaking aliens, or business censorship of moving pictures gives a net balance of good to the world. Religious divisions have of course likewise always hinged on questions of relative worth which might never be determined with scientific finality. Battles are waged between faiths, and victory goes to the strongest, often without finally settling questions of ultimate worth. But the instincts and deep-rooted habits of men are enmeshed with these faiths; and the strongly emotional qualities of the soul — loves, hates, jealousies, pugnacities, hopes, fears, longings — are easily enlisted in support or opposition. The progress of the years, the oncoming of new generations, the competition of social values, the cross-fertilizations of ideas and beliefs, all give rise to new conceptions of social worths and debase the old.

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfills Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

We all hope that the light of science will simplify many of these problems and perhaps lift them above the smoke of embattled passions and vested interests. But we must remember that we have no final criteria as yet of social values — the things that make society, or mankind, or men, or even life, most worth while; hence we have as yet no scientific standards whereon to build the ultimate interpretations of social science. For all practical purposes, of course, we Americans are sufficiently convinced that polygamy, constitutional monarchy, state-supported church, ancestor worship, imprisonment of debtors, state supervision of private schools, primogeniture, segregation of vice, censorship of plays, and early toil of children are “bad” things. On the more generally accepted of these “faith” values the course of the social-science teacher is clear.

WHAT IS MEANT BY “TEACHING”?

The social-science teacher cannot avoid responsibility for the teaching of social “values,” including those characterized by such words as right and wrong, just and unjust, honorable and dishonorable, moral and immoral, patriotic, humane, tolerant, honest, Christian, temperate, reverent, and the like.

But what, exactly, do we mean by the word “teach” in this connection? Surely something very different from what we mean when we say to “teach” handwriting, geography, Latin, algebra, or a trade. The schools are often urged to teach children to “be honest,” to be patriotic, to “hate war,” to have “right” ideals. How are these things to be done? Only partly by teaching cold facts, and only slightly perhaps by strictly “training” processes. Obviously the teacher must seek to effect “feeling” attitudes. He must communicate by various devices his own admirations, dislikes, warm faiths, ingrained “moral principles.” Successful teaching of social values necessarily means that the teacher shall be an advo-

cate, a pleader, perhaps a partisan. He can be impersonal in teaching reading, musical notation, and the facts of history; but can he be impersonal in "teaching" truthfulness, fair play, courageousness?

Data versus judgments. College teachers often intend to teach the "facts" in controversial matters, leaving students to make their individual interpretations and social evaluations of these facts. Many teachers, doubtless, have attempted this in the study of the Lutheran Reformation, the American Civil War, the League of Nations, franchises for waterpower, the Biblical "days of creation," immigration, the liquor traffic, and scores of other situations where personal prepossessions on the part of students or "social group" prepossessions on the part of sections of the public are soon encountered. Certainly this process is justifiable whenever it is practicable; and it is clearly practicable and necessary in the case of mature students possessed of a truly scientific temper — perhaps a very small minority at all times.

But is it at all practicable with students of secondary school age? Is it at all practicable at any age with the great majority of minds that are baffled by intricate problems, and which refuse to bear "the agonies of suspended judgment"? In some of the private affairs of life the immature and the mediocre minds are not called upon to share in the making of momentous decisions in areas of "social values." But in democratic politics, democratic religious systems, perhaps soon in democratized industry, the reverse is true.

The world of practical men has nearly always proceeded promptly to cut the Gordian knots of social values. Men of action have always formed parties about their beliefs. They have sought to lure or even to compel others to accept their views. They have developed advocates, used propaganda, and employed numberless forms of persecution. Age-long

hates, vast social cleavages, and bitter wars have been some of the fruits, but not necessarily all. The positive side of the ledger, if competently studied, might show steady advances toward truth, coöperation, freedom, progress, life more abundant.

To "teach" various social values means inevitably to "advocate" them, to seek to shape appreciations, ideals, sentiments, attitudes of learners toward them. The teacher whose panoply of these values is well secured will necessarily be an advocate, a propagandist, a person believed by the supporting part of his public to be of "sound" principles. He can and will preserve the judicial attitude up to the point where his supporters begin to question his sincerity, his earnestness (in making converts, that is), his devotion to the public good.

REALISTIC CASES

The very principle of freedom of teaching is itself one of the contemporary issues about which men tend to divide with much passion. Its discussion in the abstract may not occasion much divisive feeling; but numberless concrete cases show how readily enthusiastic proponents and resentful opponents may be summoned forth. Some of these cases may be used as inductive approaches to the formulation of certain proposed working principles.

Given a social-science teacher in a public high school — a well-educated man or woman of unexceptionable private character whose "personal influence" with students is very strong. His pupils are prone to feel that whatever he stands for is "right."

Case I. This teacher in the course of his work exhibits himself as an enthusiastic believer in and supporter of the doctrines and institutions noted below. A minority of the citizens in the community, including some of the parents

of the pupils, are convinced he is wrong, but the large majority is clearly with him. Wherever occasion arises in his classes, or where he can create an occasion, he stands strongly for:

(a) The Monroe Doctrine, in spite of the dissent of certain South Americans in his neighborhood.

(b) Legal prohibition of polygamy, in spite of the strong sentiment of certain Mohammedans in the locality.

(c) Appointment (rather than election) and life tenure of Supreme Court justices, in spite of the quiet but bitter opposition of a local radical party.

(d) Private ownership and direction of railways, in spite of a growing minority sentiment for public ownership.

(e) Capital punishment where now legalized, in spite of a strong attitude of protest from some very good Christians.

(f) Complete non-participation of the state in Church support, in spite of strong feeling in favor of such policy of some English immigrants.

(g) Military preparedness, in spite of the emphatic protests of a minority that such preparedness simply invites what they regard as the "wickedness of war."

Case II. This social-science teacher finds himself with small minorities on certain issues that he regards as vital. For example:

(a) He has come to believe that vivisection is wrong morally, and unproductive of scientific good.

(b) He feels keenly that it is not right for the United States to exclude Orientals from free immigration.

(c) He has come reluctantly to believe that general suffrage is an unmitigated evil; he strongly believes that it should at least be restricted to persons educated at the minimum to the extent of the ordinary eighth school grade.

(d) He is firmly of the opinion that the good of society requires the enforced humane segregation (in effect imprison-

ment, but without suggestion of punishment) of all adults of only "moron" intelligence, though the majority of his patrons regard his proposals with horror.

(e) He has become convinced that the American policies which provoked, supported, and dictated final conditions of peace in the Mexican War, and which resulted in the acquisition of the Southwest, were indefensibly selfish, predatory, and unjust. Most of his local patrons hold opposite views.

Case III. Regarding a number of issues of contemporary politics and social economy he finds himself in party groups that either are now moderate majorities or hope to be in majority control soon. For example:

(a) He is strongly in favor of such legislative enactments as will exclude mild alcoholic beverages from the operation of the constitutional amendment designed to prohibit manufacture and trade in intoxicating beverages.

(b) He is very much opposed to our entering any League of Nations that will obligate us to share in the use of force in settling international relationships abroad.

(c) He is ardently in favor of strict national censorship of moving pictures.

(d) He desires that representation of the Southern states in Congress be reduced to the actual proportions stipulated by the Constitution.

(e) He wants heavy import duties levied as protection to all American industries, whilst admitting that higher prices to consumers must result.

The teacher here under consideration has classes in "social science" problems in seventh and ninth grades; in community civics in the eighth; in economics in the tenth; in sociology in the eleventh; and in American history ("taught primarily from the standpoint of making civic leaders") in the twelfth. His enthusiasm for study of current issues has infected his pupils. They eagerly bring into the arena of

class discussion contemporary issues. Proponents on each side eagerly solicit his opinions.

But among parents and other laymen are many opponents of his views. These resent his influence over his pupils. They charge him with being a propagandist. They say he has no right to intrude into debated issues, that as a government servant he may not "take sides" where political policies are now or may soon be involved.

SOCIAL-SCIENCE TEACHERS

We have every reason to believe that social-science teachers will in the future exhibit at least three distinguishable types which may be designated (*a*) the servile, (*b*) the willful, and (*c*) the balanced. These types can also readily be distinguished among preachers, publicists, politicians, and other leaders whose essential characteristics they share.

(*a*) **Servile social-science teachers**, under normal American conditions, will probably be a minority, the size of which will depend upon the means of selection and training employed, their social standing and compensations, and the social pressures upon them for conformity and partisanship. Perhaps some forms of extreme servility are inherent, whilst others are easily produced by unfavorable social environment acting on timid natures.

Servile teachers in social science have little will, and less secure knowledge, of their own. They are eager to teach whatever is approved by the "powers above." They are supporters of tradition for its own sake. They will always carefully avoid being thought to favor any type of "under-dog" or discredited cause. They delight to stand with the powerful, whether these be powerful in numbers or in other kind of influence. They care little for freedom in teaching as a principle, but will often be very unhappy when controlling powers change. They are excessively willing to

compromise, not from conviction, but from fear or love of ease.

(b) **Willful teachers** of social science belong at the other extreme. These tend to value their own opinions above those of any, or all, of their fellows. They are possessed of strong impulses, and often of strong sympathies for the weak or oppressed and for minority causes. They tend instinctively to favor the underdog, sometimes perhaps less out of sympathy for the underdog than from envy, jealousy, or perhaps innate hostility to the power and success displayed by "upperdogs."

Willful teachers, being naturally partisans and of strong impulses, easily promote the antagonism of majority or conservative groups and of course, above all, of those individuals or groups having vested interests in a stable social order. Zealots and fanatics readily spring from the class of these willful ones, as also at times a Socrates, Luther, Savonarola, or Garrison. Often they are too sincere or incapable of deception to become genuine demagogues, for whom they are sometimes mistaken. They believe in revolt, perhaps sometimes as an end rather than a means. They are disposed freely to question the honesty and good intentions of those opposed to them. They are stiff-necked and loath to make the compromises essential to democratic "fairness."

(c) **"Balanced" teachers.** Between these two extremes is the type here denominated "balanced." Balanced teachers have their own strong opinions, but they also have great respect for the opinions of others. They dislike to teach or act on impulse, but neither will they subject themselves easily to the opinions or wills of others. As teachers they feel a heavy responsibility in dissenting from the established verdicts of history or the conclusions of groups of substantial thinkers in any field. Nevertheless they will, in these matters, be finally guided by the evidence rather than by partisan

contentions or their own prepossessions. They know that majorities are sometimes wrong, but never so wrong as some minorities. They know that tradition is sometimes wrong, but never so wrong as some innovations. They know that prosperous men are sometimes dishonest, but never so dishonest as some of the unprosperous. They know that the intelligent and influential are sometimes predatory or parasitic, but never so predatory or parasitic as some of the unintelligent and uninfluential.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Confronted by the conditions of modern social-science teaching in secondary schools, what will be society's problems in connection with the two extreme types, respectively?

1. Teachers of the servile type will, of course, "play safe." They will, where practicable, dodge controverted issues altogether. They will dwell heavily on matters that have long lain outside the borderlands of the contentious. They will speak learnedly in truisms, being especially fond of general and abstract phrasings.

Servile teachers in the social sciences will do little immediate harm. They will also do little permanent good, except in so far as the opinions and powers to which they are subject prove to be socially sound and right. Since the citizenship of the future must increasingly be dynamic rather than static in its attitudes and understandings, teachers of this type will prove of diminishing usefulness. School systems which have heretofore cherished them may find it necessary to resort to drastic means to force them out; though most commonly they will be allowed peacefully to grow old and to retire on pensions.

The willful type, on the other hand, will be impatient of the established order and will prefer to dwell upon debatable matters. They will find it difficult, if not impossible, to keep

out of their teaching the spirit of propaganda. Their reforming zeal usually grows by what it feeds on, unless checked by violence. Teachers of the willful type in the social-science subjects of secondary school grade will frequently be regarded as dangerous because of the immaturity and impressionable character of their pupils. In times of excessive social instability they may do serious harm. Their presence imposes serious burdens and embarrassments on democratic school administration because all attempts to remove or even to curb them arouse violent outcries and resistance on the part of partisan radical groups permitted in democracies to be always vociferous and threatening. Their tenure of posts of public responsibility will seldom be secure. Many of them will finally give themselves to the service of partisan groups where they may render themselves very useful to society as social ferments, critics, or discoverers.

2. "Guiding principles" for social-science teachers will, perhaps, be of little use for the two extreme types discussed above. Hence these principles will be considered from the standpoint of the "balanced" or intermediate type. It is submitted that, having regard to the needs, possibilities, and conditions of social-science teaching in public secondary schools and particularly where controversial issues are involved, these will, as experience ripens and the best will of society defines itself through public opinion, find themselves increasingly abiding by these principles:

(a) The social-science teacher in his capacity as public servant has no rights of teaching that which seems good or true to him, quite irrespective of the collective opinions or valuations of the society, or largely controlling majority thereof, which he serves. He has here heavy obligations as agent or employee of the public either to meet its demands or to withdraw from its service. If his conscience and judgment convince him that he is right, then his correct course is to

detach himself from the service of the state and to undertake propaganda in his private capacity.

(b) **Twilight zones.** Until the social sciences, including their necessary factors of social or ethical valuations, shall have evolved far beyond their present stage, a very considerable twilight zone can and should exist in every teacher's mind between those conclusions and hypotheses as to fact and valuation which are to him so assured that he can confidently and properly impart them in public school classes, and those other tentative findings, surmises, and speculations which engross his thinking but which he is not ready to make a part of his teaching. A conscientious and scientific man may thus be tentatively holding, in a state of suspended judgment appropriate for further study, private opinions quite at variance to those approved formulations which he is teaching. (This situation obviously may impose a severe strain upon a teacher's honesty and faithfulness.)

(c) In areas of social thought and action where unsettled issues, especially of social valuation, so divide men into camps that large numbers of able-minded and well-disposed thinkers are found on each side, the teacher dealing with these issues in his classes will freely accept a very heavy burden of responsibility if he desires to introduce his own opinions. He will readily recognize his heavy obligations to show dispassionateness, a judicial attitude, and full acquaintance with the contentions of each party. He will be loath to impute improper motives to either side, and will suppress his own partisan impulses and emotional preferences.

3. The final principles which should guide the social-science teacher in claiming and using freedom are deducible from certain central principles in democratic government. They are suggested by the words "compromise," "toleration," and "fair play." They are further suggested by the aphorisms that "under democratic conditions each man

should have liberty to do all things except to destroy liberty (usually that of his fellows)" and that "the liberty of any man ends where the equal liberty of his neighbor begins."

It is clear, of course, to every student of social science that a democratic social order is impossible if individuals and parties are not willing constantly to practice compromise. Minority groups must incessantly yield to the will of the majority, submit to the laws, take defeat gracefully, abide by the decision of the umpire. But in a stable social order majorities must also constantly practice toleration and other kinds of compromise. Herein, one may well claim, have lain the special glories, anciently of Roman, and in recent centuries of Anglo-Saxon, government of selves and others.

But there are limits to the compromises called for by democracy at its best. Compromises as respects behavior, but not ideals or convictions, are chiefly demanded. In modern political and other social groups, while conformity in overt act is constantly required, the more democratic leaders tend to approve and prize in their opponents tenacity of conviction or moral principle. Only among badly socialized peoples are minorities persecuted for their beliefs. Fully socialized groups tolerate to the utmost differences of opinion, whilst sternly suppressing those differences in behavior that would produce the kinds of social discord coming under the words "immorality," "disorder," "lawlessness," "anarchy," "treason," or "sacrilege."

The social-science teacher may often be of minority groups. In these connections he is entitled to hold such opinions as he sees fit. But *teaching* is his field of social behavior. Here, in his public capacity, he must conform to the will of the majority and, so far as overt act or influence is concerned, uphold the social order under such democratic auspices as now represent the democratically expressed will of the majority.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SAMPLE STUDIES

THE following studies were made by students in a Practicum (Ed. 491-2) in Teachers College, Columbia University, during the college year 1919-20. They are reproduced here, partly because they are very suggestive for any persons who may be seeking to construct courses, but also because they illustrate very vividly the value of the "case group" method of approach to the study of various practical problems of civic education.

The class referred to contained the following members, not all of whom, however, contributed to the studies below: Rose A. Carrigan, Chai Hsuan Chuang, Maude E. Drake, A. N. French, Florence K. Griswold, Roy W. Hatch, Grace D. Hicks, Annie L. McCary, Marcus L. Mohler, Clyde B. Moore, J. V. L. Morris, J. F. Page, Charles C. Peters, Abby Roys, Charles R. Small, Mordecai Soltes, Paul F. Voelker.

I. (C. B. M.) PROPOSED COURSES IN CIVIC EDUCATION FOR CASE GROUP "OWNING FARMERS"

1. *Group or class.* Sons (12-14 years of age) of farmers owning and operating their own farms in the North Central states. (Conditions listed below are based on observation, census, and education reports.)

2. *Diagnosis.* These boys come from the substantial type of families that make up the backbone of rural life. Extremes either in wealth or in conditions approaching poverty practically never exist. These boys are above average in native qualities — physical, intellectual, and moral. They are well nourished, share in home and farm tasks, and are trained to give attention to the work of the farm. Schooling is not rated as being of very high importance and social experiences are largely restricted to the immediate neighborhood. Their school teachers are poorly trained and the schools are largely the one-room type, poorly equipped, poorly organized, and inadequately supervised. Means of contact with outside world are

very meager, newspapers and magazines being limited largely to local village paper and farm journals. Few books are in the home, and library facilities are practically nil. Amusements and recreation are limited to occasional neighborhood dances, parties, and church socials. Little attention is paid to dress — in short, the traditional rural attitude toward the “city dude” may reduce the sense of neatness and cleanliness to a low degree. Religious interests are simple and church services informal. Few opportunities for “same age groupings” outside the school, whole families joining in various kinds of social intercourse.

Dominant characteristics. Physically healthy, interested in farm development, expect to become farmers; little interest in school; do not plan to take high school or college course; retiring and bashful when associating with girls of own age; interested in politics having direct vocational relations; appreciations of dress, care of body, and manners, low.

3. *Prognosis, general.* These boys will probably follow farming as their vocation, inheriting land or receiving family assistance in purchasing farms. (A few of a superior type will obtain good education and enter professional or commercial fields in cities.) Those remaining will tend to remain static, taking a skeptical attitude toward any new theories relating to farming. By thirty-five they will have married and settled down to farm routine, following the traditions of the neighborhood, exercising thrift and working hard. They will give little time to politics and their major interests will be grouped about their vocational life.

4. *Prognosis, civic.* Given no education greatly differing from that now customary, most of these boys will become “good conforming” citizens. They will hold “respectability” almost as a religious virtue and will exhibit a “conformity” to accepted rural standards that is very persistent.

In the kinds of civic abilities that have to do with the economic aspects of rural life a few of these men will achieve rather superior ability. They will assume leadership and in a few instances will compete successfully with political leaders from other callings. A few will serve in state legislatures or county boards, or in county offices of one kind or another. Their training or education, however, will be too meager for achieving unusual tasks. A very high per cent will have vague feelings of political and social needs and will be inclined to follow those farmers who possess the initiative and leadership to attempt reform. They will be slow to assert themselves,

however, tending to give vent to their feelings through grumbling rather than through study and action. Their greatest handicap will be largely due to the limited training and information possible through existing schools and other educative agencies. Owing to isolation and limited social intercourse by-education will not be of a very serviceable type for political and social life.

5. *Civic deficiencies.* Prominent civic deficiencies of this class at ages 30-60 will be: (a) Lack of adequate scientific knowledge of economic, political, and other social phenomena to guide in right determination of political policies for both associate and federate groups. (b) Lack of effective sympathetic appreciation of conditions and aspirations of other economic classes, even though relationships are quite direct. (c) Lack of understanding of effective methods for achieving desired political changes or reforms through present civic organizations. (d) Lack of training in simpler processes for group expression of needs and desires.

6. *Proposed specific objectives of schooling.*

a. To furnish sufficient knowledge of purposes, forms, and functions of government and closely related factors which will enlarge certain social appreciations and aid in establishing ideals.

b. To furnish training in analyzing economic and social factors that relate both directly and indirectly to the welfare of rural life.

c. To furnish instruction as to available means for producing political or economic changes and to furnish so far as possible both vicarious and direct training therein.

7. *Factors conditioning or defining problems of method.*

a. *Teachers.* The teachers are as a rule young women (18-22), who have completed the elementary school course and in many instances have graduated from high schools. Their professional training is very meager, only a small per cent attending normal schools. Many are inexperienced. (Those of successful experience and fair training seek positions in village or city schools.) They come from the towns for the most part; relatively few girls from the farms go to high school or seek preparation for teaching in rural schools. Salaries are poor, teachers working for "pin money" prior to marriage; tenure of office short and supervision inadequate; teaching generally poor.

b. The school. One-room school typical; buildings poorly planned; grounds and out-buildings ill kept; equipment meager; supply of books, apparatus, and materials for instruction very limited. Little or no opportunity for exchange or "pooling" of materials between the schools as in towns or cities. Appropriations inadequate; taxes to the legal limit much rarer in country than in town or city; many patrons look upon "book learning" and "schooling" as of minor importance; attitude prevails, "This school was good enough for me, it is good enough for my children." Teachers and school policies so changing that schools are weak as community centers. Libraries and museums too distant to use. Textbooks adapted to use of city schools rather than country; are too "thin," presupposing much supplementary material which rural teacher is incompetent to obtain; "thick" informational texts adapted to rural life are much needed.

8. *Problems of method.*

It is assumed that approximately 10 per cent of the school time for two years will be given over to "civic education" and that it will have to do with both *social* and *political* relationships of associate groups and largely *political* relationships of federate groups.

a. Problem: Shall we assume that a core of subject matter having a continuity and unity may be so reinforced with concrete examples and materials as to give it a psychological approach?

b. Problem: Are boys of this age susceptible to "didactic" means of presentation of materials if they are conveniently arranged and attractively put in text?

c. Problem: Can projects of participation and dramatization grow out of such a course possessing unity and direction?

d. Problem: Can boys of this age be trained through exercises directed by the school which will give a group of habits which will function in the exercise of good citizenship?

e. Problem: Will a series of compact epitomes, descriptions, or statements of important civic topics stimulate further study and thought which may eventually find expression in projects and investigations?

9. *Proposed methods.*

a. The organization of materials in a text sufficiently "thick" to permit of much concrete, typical matter. The text

would consist of three parts: (1) materials organized and arranged as a course of instruction; (2) a series of epitomes of important citizenship topics not arranged in any sequence, but calculated to supplement, and enrich, material in (1) and to suggest problems on projects beyond the text; (3) a series of topics suggesting training for the establishment of certain habits and skills closely related to "civic education."

b. This first section (1) would define, explain, and illustrate the purposes, functions, and forms of government as shown in the community, county, state, and national and international relationships. It would include such topics as: maintenance of a community; stimulation of coöperation; survey of opportunities for coöperation; responsibilities of the individual in maintaining the best possible health, being vocationally competent, securing best possible education, maintaining high plane of moral or religious life, and accepting responsibility of contributing one's best in labor and wealth for society's welfare; critical study of needs of community and state; observation of customs, laws and regulations; proper attitudes toward fellow citizens; support of desirable community organizations and share in community activities; organizations or institutions affecting civic welfare, such as the family, the school, the church, the press, and the political party; means of communication; coördinating facts and factors such as "every individual a socius," country life and city life complementary, conservation, governmental control, immigration, equal suffrage, and Americanization.

c. The series of epitomes (2) would give short authentic accounts in simple language of such topics as: socialism; free trade; the Monroe Doctrine; government ownership of railroads; the budget system; department of agriculture; franchise; child labor; anarchy; civil service; spoils system; Bolshevism; exploitation; government bonds; Federal Reserve banks; colonial possessions, etc. The mere reading of these would give information, but their primary purpose would be to acquaint the pupil sufficiently with a topic to stimulate him to further thinking or study.

d. The third series (3) would give a brief description of the habit or skill to be attained, with its purpose, importance, and value clearly defined. These paragraphs would be couched in simple, straightforward English at the boys' level, much as

the scouting information is given. The information would be quickly grasped so that *training* in this section would be stressed rather than instruction. The following topics would be typical: rising at the singing of the national anthem; saluting the flag; cleanliness in using public utensils and conveniences; careful handling of books, school furniture, and public property; use of courteous tone of voice; skill in simple parliamentary procedure; meeting strangers properly; organizing a movement for community welfare; evaluating newspaper material; use of bureaus and bulletins; critical reading of crop reports; committee membership; committee chairmanship, etc.

e. The series (*c*) should furnish stimuli for debates and reports which in turn would furnish opportunities for training in habits and skills as listed in (*d*), while the exercises growing out of both (*c*) and (*d*) would run concomitantly with (*b*), supplementing, enriching, motivating, and making provision for individual differences and varying proportions of time and changing personnel.

II. (A. L. McC.) PROPOSED COURSES FOR GIRLS OF POOR ENVIRONMENT

1. *Case group.* Girls in Grades 7 and 8 — either of the 8-4 or the 6-3-3 system — in public schools of average American cities of the North Atlantic states. These girls are 12-14 years of age and will leave school at the end of Grade 8 (or 9 under the 6-3-3 plan).

2. *Diagnosis.* These girls are from rather poor homes. Their parents are without more than an elementary schooling and some even have had no more than a fifth-grade education. Their homes are not well supplied with books or magazines. Amusement for these children has been confined almost exclusively to moving-picture shows. Practically all of them go to Sunday school, either Protestant or Catholic.

The interest-curve in school is declining. Adolescence is developing. Interests of childhood are being cast into the discard. They are becoming interested in boys, many of them having "fellows." There is a greater play of individuality and a tendency away from implicit obedience and from rules arbitrarily imposed. The world of adults is becoming interesting to them. They are very critical and observant.

The schools are usually well organized. The supervision is fair.

The teachers are not the youngest and latest additions to the corps — they have usually worked up from the lower grades.

3. *Prognosis, general.* These girls will go into manual vocations, the industries, trades, and the minor positions in the business and commercial world. That is, they will be bundle wrappers, cash girls, stock girls, errand girls, and with proper working papers they may secure apprentice positions in factories as operators, etc. By the time they are 16-18 they will be found in the better-grade jobs of the group into which they have fallen — saleswomen, cashiers, operators. Some of them who have superior ability may have clerical positions. Domestic service will be scrupulously avoided. By 25-30 the vast majority will be married. Marriage will take them out of the wage-earning group, in the main. Consequently their major interests will center around their domestic life. They may be interested in politics, but not in a constructive way.

4. *Prognosis, civic.* Most of them will be fairly "good" conforming citizens. They will attempt to adhere to their standards of honesty and decency. They will be settled into a more or less drab existence. Their single-track minds, due to an exceedingly limited horizon, will be fruitful soil, however, for clever agitation based upon their economic and social needs. Practically none of those who marry will be leaders. Among those who remain single only those who are of strong personality will be leaders, and that leadership will be confined to their own social or industrial group, i.e., trade-union leaders, etc.

On the side of civic initiative, they will follow rather than lead. Many will vote as their husbands wish — the women themselves not wishing to differ from their husbands, or not sufficiently interested to care about the issues at stake. Where public service is responsive to employment by voters, these will merely grumble at deficiencies, accepting them as a "necessary evil."

5. *Civic deficiencies.* Prominent civic deficiencies of this class will be: (a) lack of appreciation of conditions with which they are not in actual contact; (b) lack of constructive, intelligent interest in civic activities; (c) lack of adequate knowledge of economic and other social phenomena to furnish an intelligent basis for determining political alignment; (d) lack of understanding of effective methods of employing public servants — exercise of the suffrage; (e) lack of training in the simpler processes for group expression of needs and desires; (f) tendency, when stirred by certain types of agitators, to consider needs and wishes of their group paramount.

6. *Proposed specific objectives.*

- I. To enlarge social appreciations and widen social sympathies.
- II. To furnish elementary knowledge of the forms, functions, and purposes of government to aid in establishing correct ideals of the relationship which the city, state, nation, and citizen sustain to one another.
- III. To "stamp in" the habit of reading the opinions of experts on vital issues and to stamp in the habit of attending public lectures where those topics will be discussed.
- IV. To show the value of community coöperation.

7. *Problems of method.*

Time limitations: one lesson a week varying in length from 40 to 50 min.

- I. Form in which to present material to girls who probably do not care much about reading? Will the use of supplementary and reference materials simply intensify the dislike for reading and leave a "bad taste," or will it carry over into life after the school period?
- II. Which is the better form for the classroom textbook material, the narrative or the topical outline form?
- III. Can participation projects be successfully used?

8. *Proposed methods.*

a. The organization of materials in a text for pupils with accompanying manual for teachers. The same text and manual for both grades — Part I for Grade 7 and Part II for Grade 8.

b. Presentation of topics by teacher in problem form demanding investigation by pupils.

c. Use of the socialized recitation. Three- and four-minute speeches on various topics by members of the class.

d. Use of illustrative activities to "stamp in" facts learned by class and home assignments.

e. Correlation with other subjects as far as practicable.

f. Development of many topics with the aid of reference books, pamphlets.

9. *Proposed scope of courses for Grade 7.*

In this grade, where civics is for the first time made a separate and distinct study, there will be problems of the local community,

e.g., the way in which the city is governed, its people, the benefits which its citizens receive at its hands, the duty of the citizens to the city. The last-named topic, the duty of the citizens to the community, is probably the most important one, as under it will be grouped: responsibilities of the individuals in conserving their health and safeguarding the health of the community; the duty of securing as good an education as possible both in the schools and through outside agencies; the responsibility for maintaining a high moral standard; proper attitude toward constituted authority; observation of approved customs and laws.

Activities. A list of topics for short reports in connection with the classroom work is supplemented by a list of activities for the entire group. The following list is typical:

Write and illustrate a booklet, "Laws Every Child Should Know."

Organize the class into the various boards of the city and dramatize their functions: board of health, street-cleaning department, police and fire departments, etc.

Form a class organization to help in the upkeep of the school, following the plan of the city's government.

Construct a bulletin board of CITIZENSHIP — one half for clippings from the local newspapers illustrating good citizenship, the other half illustrating poor citizenship.

Chart with labels and pictures showing Food Law Regulations.

Grade 8 continues the duties of the citizen in wider range, to the state and nation. This involves elementary knowledge of the forms and functions of state laws and regulations as well as some of the federal functions with which these children must be familiar. The topics for this section of the grade are such as: relationship of the city to the state; relative importance to the nation; responsibility of the individuals for maintaining the city and state's standing; the part which the citizens of the city play in formulating the policies of the state and nation.

In this grade is to be begun the definite attempt to widen social appreciations and sympathies. Consequently, the city's population is analyzed to determine the foreign elements therein. This leads to a study of the immigrant problem and allied questions, aspirations of immigrant groups, their contributions to America, formation of sympathetic attitude toward them; also labor problems as these affect the community — child labor, women in industry, factory legislation in many of its aspects, hours of labor, workingmen's compensation, protection of machinery, sanitation, etc.

In order to get across the above program, it will be necessary to use many outside references, magazines, periodicals, elementary books on social problems. A large bibliography for both teachers and pupils will be appended to each group.

Activities. Topics for short individual investigations, debates, and discussions supplemented by activities for the group:

Show by posters the occupational openings for boys and girls graduating from eighth grades.

In some of the class organizations devote some time to the definite study of parliamentary law, committee chairmanship, committee membership.

Develop a "Melting Pot" pageant in which the children from the various racial groups may take part, dressed in their "native" costume and with some activity showing their contribution to America.

Make an Americanization chart showing what America offers the immigrant and what the immigrant offers America.

Chart showing industrial groups in the city.

Chart showing living quarters for racial groups.

Pictures showing good working conditions in factories.

III. (A. R.) PROPOSED COURSE IN CITIZENSHIP FOR A NINTH GRADE

Case group. Boys 14 or 15 years of age of rather superior mental ability living in Western towns of population from 8,000 to 20,000.

Diagnosis. Pupils in the majority of cases are from American homes, varying widely in financial and social standing and in home influence. Their social life is broadening rapidly through entertainments of various sorts and increased association with those of opposite sex. They show keen interest in the world of adults and find satisfaction in sharing some of its activities. Mental abilities vary from that barely able to do high school work to that which is decidedly above the average. Some attend school only because of social custom and not because of interest or ability. In religious matters they reflect home influence and community tendencies. The latter vary from a general interest throughout the town to a decided lack of it.

They are all limited in outlook upon life, particularly if the community is isolated. If care has been given to this phase of training in the earlier grades, considerable modification will be found.

In general, they are inclined to consider local customs satisfactory, if personal inconvenience is absent. There is much class and racial prejudice and a tendency to ignore the rights and welfare of others, particularly those outside their personal acquaintance.

They may still be appealed to through "activities," but not by direct moralizing unless it comes from one of their own class.

Prognosis. Those of the better grades of ability will usually go to college, and many of them will not return because of better vocational opportunity elsewhere and for other reasons. Those who do return will enter such vocations as law, medicine, ranching, business, or teaching.

Of those who do not finish high school, or do finish but do not enter college, many will go elsewhere for vocational reasons or because the family moves away. A minority will remain in the same community during adult life. They will enter business or the skilled trades. In these they will work industriously and will accept current standards.

A few will become leaders in the professions, business and civic affairs, or trade organizations. The majority will accept routine conditions more or less calmly. The reading of most of them will be limited to rather a narrow range of daily papers, magazines, and books. Opinions will be taken from discussions heard or from party or class decisions and will be adhered to doggedly. In this and other matters they will show high degrees of coöperation and loyalty within their own groups. They will fear the influence of other classes and of foreigners.

Prognosis, civic. If there is a continuation of the educational and community tendencies of the past, there will be much indifference to civic matters except during the heat of political campaigns or at times when the policies of public officers have produced results they do not like. They will be superior conforming citizens according to present standards, but will be too preoccupied with their personal affairs to show much initiative or reasoning ability in public matters.

For those who desire leadership there will be fewer obstacles than would be found in other sections because of the sparseness of population. Therefore an inferior quality of leadership will be common.

Civic deficiencies. (a) A tendency to think in terms of material welfare to the exclusion of other interests. (b) A lack of appreciation and understanding of other classes and nations. (c) A lack of knowledge of economic and sociological principles and facts with

consequent hasty and ill-balanced decisions. (d) A lack of understanding of effective means of collective action in civic matters.

Specific objectives. (a) To show the social nature of the environment and the place of the individual in it. (b) To develop a broader sympathy with other peoples and classes and a spirit of toleration for the beliefs and opinions of others. (c) To give a knowledge of the form and functions of civic agencies. (d) To develop a recognition of civic responsibility and a response to it by appropriate action.

Factors conditioning the problem of civic instruction. (a) Teachers. The teachers are well trained in the traditional subjects, but do not understand how to handle the new materials and methods. They often desire to limit civic instruction to the formal aspects of government and deny the civic value of recent additions to curricula. They do not understand the importance of "social activities" of pupils. The results from this condition will be instruction as barren as under the old régime or failure and disgust on the part of all concerned. Hence the need of teacher-training in the subject. A small minority are already interested and wish to learn more.

(b) Materials. Many small places are lacking in adequate library facilities and have very limited social and industrial conditions.

Problems of method. (a) Is it possible to vitalize the more abstract topics which it is necessary to teach? What means will accomplish this if it is possible?

(b) Will a dramatization of a civic function give an adequate understanding of it?

(c) Of how much value is observation of civic activities to pupils of this age?

(d) When civic activities are participated in by the pupils, what means of recognition of results may be used without incurring bad effects?

Proposed methods. (a) The statement of lesson themes as problems to be solved rather than in outline form.

(b) Adoption of the method proposed in (U. S. Bureau of Education) Bulletin No. 23, 1915, each topic consisting of three divisions: the approach, investigation of agencies, and consideration of personal responsibility. The first will be developed from the experience of the class and "will develop a realization of the importance of the topic and a right social attitude toward it." The investigation of agencies will be accomplished by the combined efforts of the class directed to personal investigation and observation and the con-

sultation of reference books and magazines. The last part must be developed by means suited to the topic, involving in many cases action of some sort.

Library facilities for this particular work must be developed in both the school and the public libraries.

(c) Many activities will be carried on independently of the informational work. The problem is to organize and motivate a widely varied program of participation in the real work of the school.

IV. (M. S.) PROPOSED PROGRAM OF EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP FOR CHILDREN OF RUSSIAN-JEWISH IMMIGRANTS (ESPECIALLY AGES 12-14)

I. *Case group.* Children (ages 12-14) of Russian-Jewish immigrants; found mainly in large cities in upper classes of elementary, as well as in the junior high schools. (All groups represented, from the point of view of *economic* status — poor, middle class, professional, wealthy — laborers, peddlers, storekeepers, manufacturers, etc.) (Diagnosis of equipment, conditions, etc., based to some extent on reading, reports, etc., but *mainly* on direct, *personal* observation and first-hand experience.)

II. *Diagnosis of characteristics and equipment* (adults included). Idealistic; thirst for knowledge, education; respect for learning; keen sense of social justice; the family as an institution has a strong hold; parental responsibility highly developed; good standard of living — careful economic utilization; permanent settlers; progressive, independent attitude in politics; loyalty to people and faith; make adequate provision for poor and unfortunates of their race; perseverant, though they adapt themselves easily and readily to new conditions and circumstances — learn language, acquire customs rapidly; send children to *public* rather than parochial schools; English language used in sermons at synagogues and at Hebrew schools; while anxious to harmonize old mode of life with American conditions, yet they do not permit these to encroach on the essential character of their religious traditions; sober; superior mental vigor; passionate love for liberty; possess ancient culture and heritage.

Other characteristics. Occasional over-development of mind at expense of body; keen intellectualism often leads an element within them toward impatience at slow progress; extremely radical; many years of isolation and segregation give rise to irritability and supersensitivity; little interest in physical sports (looked upon as *pagan* in olden times); frank and open-minded approach in intel-

lectual matters, especially debatable questions — in fact, too exacting and outspoken according to present standards; have accumulated valuable experience, emotional touch and points of view.

Children above average intellectually — attain high records and distinction in work at schools, genuine interest — but are average or below, physically; those of poorer class are frequently undernourished; work their way through school, supporting themselves and sometimes even contributing toward the support of the family — especially where the latter is large — by selling newspapers or running errands after school hours, and working during vacations; anxious for high educational opportunities; conditions at home very unfavorable for purpose of study — live in few, overcrowded rooms in tenements; make frequent use of library; second generation affected mentally, morally, and physically by American environment.

Poorer live in congested areas — moving away, however, to better sections as soon as financial circumstances permit; fathers occupied with task of earning a living, as a result of which little time and attention are given to the training of the children; parental control and oversight weak, because of conflict, economic strife, and chaos in social life, resulting from the transition from the old to the new environment, from the old to the new mode of life.

III. *Prognosis, general.* Normally the children will fall into at least three main groups, according to economic conditions at home; and these may be further subdivided in accordance with the state of Jewish culture at home.

Group A. Those whose fathers are poor (laborers, pusheart peddlers, etc.), and who find it difficult to earn a livelihood and to live up to Jewish customs, ceremonies, and traditions in the new environment. Time and energy devoted mainly to meeting material needs of families. Parental control and oversight weak, in the case of the children of this group, coming from homes of low Jewish cultural state; children grow to look down *with contempt* upon things Jewish, the customs and beliefs of their parents included, due mainly to lack of opportunity to familiarize themselves properly with the history and traditions of their people; they worship “baseball averages” and all forms of physical sports as ends in themselves. With some exceptions they will, as a rule, “pick up” any convenient jobs; unsteady; comparative lack of ambition; a few will become apprentices to plumbers, electricians, etc., and learn trades; many will accept routine work and enter lower types of civil service, etc.

On the other hand those coming from poor families, economically, but of high state of Jewish culture, will be sympathetic toward Jewish life and will contribute toward its perpetuation. They will be anxious to obtain higher education, and to free themselves from the economic strain of living from hand to mouth.

They will learn trades, become traveling salesmen, enter civil service, accept routine work grudgingly, open small shops, while the more ambitious and perseverant will enter professions (by working their way through college or professional school, or by studying at night after working hours). Girls will become clerical workers, operators, poorer type of bookkeepers, stenographers, saleswomen, while the more ambitious will take advantage of opportunities for higher education by attending preparatory or evening high schools.

Group B. Those whose fathers are prosperous, conservative business men, manufacturers, etc. — upper middle class. Little concerned regarding economic strife and financial condition of lower class; known as the "all right" groups; their main occupation, with noted exceptions, is that of earning and spending money. Sons will, as a rule, be admitted into partnership in fathers' business, after going through private school, high school, or college; some enter professions, especially law and medicine; and many become of the property-owning class, bankers, brokers, etc. Girls will become expert stenographers and bookkeepers, go through high school, attend college, or more usually remain at home and marry.

Tendencies on part of a large element in this group are to ignore things Jewish; to consider themselves better Americanized than their poorer brethren; to have distorted notions of the true meaning of Americanism; frequently to interpret it as requiring the ignoring or denial of the fact that they are Jews, a negative conception; to imitate acts of the rich of other groups, with crude, superficial values of American life; not interested in furthering cause of members of their race or in things Jewish in general.

Group C. Those whose fathers are small business men, tradesmen, foremen in shops, etc., and who, in general, have succeeded in attaining an economic foothold — lower middle class. Marked parental influence and control — afford children every opportunity for higher education, if they will but take advantage of it — will go through high school, college, or professional school.

Children will join small business and help to build it up; enter professions, civil service, become traveling salesmen, real estate and insurance brokers and operators, etc. Liberal in general but con-

servative in things Jewish — anxious to conserve Jewish values, but insist on Americanizing form and spirit of Jewish customs and ceremonies. Girls become stenographers, saleswomen, forewomen; attend high school, training school for teachers or college.

IV. *Prognosis, civic.* *Group A.* Keenly aware of economic strife and strain of members of group, are politically progressive, anxious for reform, for change, frequently taking the initiative and occupying leadership in reform movements; very democratic and idealistic.

Group B. Are concerned in politics mainly from the point of view of class interest; superior conforming citizens, as a rule; conservative politically — will aid in good government, shun radicalism, etc. "Patronizing" attitude in Americanization and other work with less fortunate economic and social classes.

Group C. Are independent and progressive in politics — tolerant — do not vote as a class — interested in furthering cause of good government — participate in practical politics. While those coming from homes of a rich Jewish cultural state are frequently *indifferent* toward the Jewish question, they show cosmopolitan tendencies — enter settlement work, assume leadership in, and give hearty support to, liberal-progressive movements tending toward the alleviation of suffering from poverty and other unfavorable conditions.

All groups take part in *all* political parties — do not vote with any single party as a group. Those of Group A, however, have strong leaning toward reform parties, except those low culturally, who permit themselves to be misled by demagogues and yellow journals. Group B naturally lean toward the conservative; Group C toward particular individuals who satisfy them as desirable office-holders who have the public interest at heart, regardless of the party with which they may be affiliated — "vote for the man."

It should be emphasized that, contrary to popular belief, there are, with few individual exceptions, no radicals among the second generation. The radical type is recruited mainly from the young Russian intellectuals, who are compelled to go to work in sweat-shops in order to earn a livelihood, and in whose heart there naturally develops a hatred toward that order of things (as they put it) in which a few have too much and many too little. The American-born do not tend to be radical. They will be found in large numbers in the ranks of the liberal-progressives and conservatives.

V. *Civic deficiencies* (generally true more or less of practically all these groups and classes in American life). (1) Insufficient interest in the welfare of other groups — mere cold, distant sympathy,

especially for less fortunate economic, social, and racial groups. (2) Narrow, provincial attitude in matters of public concern — unreadiness to supplement smaller group interest to welfare of larger, all-embracing group. (3) Tendency to accept unchallenged, and to base judgment and thinking on, biased opinions of certain individuals (especially demagogues who present one-sided view of the case). Disinclination to formulate judgment on basis of clear, scientific knowledge, especially when that points to a result diametrically opposed to the popular one which the individual holds at that time, and at which he will arrive only after considerable reading, study, and thought. (4) Inadequate knowledge and training in the use of the ballot to the end that honest, loyal officials be selected and proper legislation be enacted.

Civic deficiencies. Specifically referable to immigrant groups in general and to the Russian-Jewish groups in particular. (1) *Erroneous, superficial notions of Americanism* which they have succeeded in picking up "on the street" — tendency to imitate the outer, cruder values in American life. (2) *Chasm created between immigrant parents and their children* — latter despise what is holy to their parents. This situation sometimes leads to antagonism and misunderstanding of American life on the part of the parents, and a disrespectful "I know it all" attitude on the part of the children — resulting in the disruption of and tragedies in family life, as well as in the weakening of parental control.

VI. *Proposed specific objectives of civic education.*

I believe that the public school, the environment, and other forces are already affecting the second generation to such a great extent that special training in citizenship beyond that given all boys and girls of their age seems unnecessary. I would recommend, therefore, that the specific objectives in the education for citizenship of Russian-Jewish children, ages 12-14, be those given below which are applicable to all groups, whatsoever and wherever they may be, with special allowance for the training set aside for the particular economic or social group within which they happen to fall and with emphasis in the case of all children of immigrants, native as well as foreign-born, particularly the Russian-Jewish, on the specific objectives which are listed below under VI, B.

A. Generally applicable to practically all groups. (1) To develop proper sympathetic attitude toward, and community of understanding between, the groups in our democracy, to make the contact

between them a source of strength and blessing instead of contention and scorn. (2) To acquaint them with the value of citizenship — the civic responsibilities and obligations as well as privileges; to instruct them in the essentials of democratic living and to develop loyalty toward the ideals of our democracy; to acquaint them with the underlying principles, nature, and form of our government, the evils of bossism, corruption, the use of the ballot, etc. (3) To train them to subordinate the smaller group interests and loyalties to those of the larger group; to get them to think in terms of the community, to consider matters mainly from the point of view of the greatest public good.

B. Specifically applicable to immigrant groups in general and the Russian-Jewish in particular. (1) To aid in "bridging the gap" between immigrant parents and their children who have been born in the United States or brought up in this environment, and thereby help in bringing about better mutual understanding and stronger parental influence and control, which is to act as a steadying force. This might be accomplished by:

(a) Correcting superficial notions of Americanism, which have taken root, and reinforcing knowledge of American ideals. (b) Widening children's horizon and enlarging their group consciousness, giving it new interpretations, etc. (c) Developing reverence, respect, and loyalty to traditions of ancestors.

(2) To furnish them with the knowledge of the contributions which their group has made or is making toward the material and spiritual development of American life, particularly toward American culture and ideals. (3) To assist and to point out the need for their making their contribution as a group toward the development of American culture, by capitalizing and taking advantage of the treasures of racial inheritance and culture brought to our shores in abundance by their parents, and other members of their group; to develop respect for learning and ancient cultures.

VII. *Problems of method.* A. Limiting factors and conditions. We are limited in this work by the following factors, none of which in my estimation is in any way insurmountable, if we but decide earnestly to take immediate steps toward its elimination. (1) *Teachers:* (a) ill prepared for this new task; not imbued at the present time with the right attitude—prejudiced and unsympathetic toward immigrant groups, etc., misled just as the rest of us have been, in our thinking; (b) lack of teacher's manual and supplementary material to guide and assist the teacher in her work.

(2) Lack of tradition behind such direct systematically organized teaching — it is an innovation in school work. (3) Lack of information regarding contributions of the immigrant groups toward American life, properly assembled and organized in book form — not easily available — not approached in the past from this point of view — especially books appropriate for use by children. (4) Must depend mainly upon the results obtained indirectly through extra-curricular activities. *B. Defects of present system.* (1) Teaching English in evening schools unsuccessful, because of voluntary attendance, and uncertainty of their continuation on account of lack of funds. (2) Naturalization a farce — candidates merely required to answer certain questions regarding the form of our government; frequently cannot read or speak English and become easy prey for demagogues and unscrupulous politicians. (3) Need for Americans' "Americanizing" themselves: (a) Stop putting politics above country, honesty, etc. (b) Degenerating effect on the immigrants when they find persons high in office putting petty political and selfish interests above those of the land and humanity. (4) Patronizing attitude in work with foreign-born — get natives and foreigners to mingle freely, not in a condescending manner. (5) Need for federal government launching *national movement for Americanization*, based on soundest advice to be received by calling into consultation experts on this question of all groups and nationalities represented in our population. (Such an important task should not be left to voluntary organizations, among whom there may be found some who utilize the cloak of Americanization for an entirely different, sinister motive.)

VIII. *Means and methods.* In general, no distinction should be made between children of immigrant parents and those of natives. They should be merged and receive the same fundamental course of training in citizenship regardless of ancestry. Whatever work is done with the children of groups should supplement the work of the regular course in history and civics. The problem to my mind is a twofold one, involving the education of natives as well as of foreigners. The former will have to learn to give up the peculiar notions and erroneous impressions that they have regarding immigrants in general and Russian-Jewish immigrants in particular. They will have to learn to discern between the facts and exaggerated accounts in newspapers spread broadcast, in which the foreigner is often selected as the scapegoat, target; for by focusing attention on some questionable act of an immigrant, the mind of the public is

in that way distracted from the conditions which prevail and which require clear scientific study and radical remedy. Often the erroneous notions regarding Russian-Jewish immigrants are the result of the work of demagogues, "professional patriots," and anti-Semites who play on the low prejudices of the ignorant, and who give wide publicity to the delinquent acts of immigrants or their children, emphasizing their extraction. (Example: Noisy agitators among Russian Jews in very small minority — less than 1% of Russian-Jewish population — through one-sided, exaggerated accounts practically all Russian-Jewish immigrants are immediately accused as and labeled "Bolsheviki," "Socialists," or whatever unpopular name happens to be in vogue at the time.) Minimize favorable comments.

As far as the children of Russian-Jewish immigrants are concerned, the supplementary course in citizenship which they receive would fall into two parts:

A. That given as *part of the regular school work*.

B. Results accomplished indirectly through *extra-curricular activities*. Under A (regular school work) I would include the following: (1) Different types of supplementary courses in history and civics to be offered in elementary as well as in junior high schools, adapted to the needs of particular groups (just as special courses in English planned to meet the specific needs of particular students [enunciation, pronunciation, accent, etc.] ought to be arranged after the group or class as a whole have obtained a fundamental knowledge of the essential elements of the language). (2) Provision to be made in the history and civics courses for opportunities to learn of the contributions to American life made by immigrants and American citizens of Russian-Jewish ancestry in the past, as well as contemporary history of contributions of old and recent immigrant groups. (a) In general, in each school part of the periods in history and civics would be devoted to telling in story form of the contributions of the ancestors of the predominating element of the population in the neighborhood toward American life. (b) Mere didactic presentations will not prove effective. We must try to tap vital motives, otherwise it will not get beneath the skin. Therefore, the use of carefully prepared supplementary reference material and books, beautifully illustrated, is desirable. (c) I would urge the preparation of special supplementary reading books in American history dealing with "Jewish Heroes in American History," etc., appropriate for children of different ages and grades.

Naturally, the language in which the books of the lower grades are written should be simple — style conversational, avoiding long paragraphs — and profusely illustrated. (3) In addition the following means ought to be utilized: (a) visits to model institutions supported by immigrant groups — observation reports (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, Mount Sinai Hospital, United Hebrew Charities, etc.); show achievements of Jews in the field of philanthropy, toward the care of the sick and poor of their group, in which they are worthy of emulation. (b) Study, discussion, and debates in the case of children in the upper elementary and junior high school classes of specific groups, their achievements and possibilities, not excluding their limitations. (The ordinary reading matter and dramatic participation are not applicable, of course, to the children between the ages of 15 and 18. With them, debate, exposition, informal discussion must be used. The conference method must be utilized, taking care not to do any moralizing, but to carry the discussion on a third-party basis.) Raise debatable issues, as "Should immigration be restricted, regulated, or admitted freely as was the case before the war?" "What are the advantages and disadvantages of each plan?" "What are the good and bad effects of immigration?" ("All bad citizenship due to lack of suspended judgment" — hunger for finality, dogmatism — may have to leave some questions unanswered — suspended judgment.) (c) Comparison between the reasons which impelled the Separatists and other denominations in England and other countries to seek refuge in America — religious persecution and intolerance, etc. — and the main reasons which attract the Russian Jews to America (religious freedom, equality of opportunity, etc.).

(The Americanization of the newly arrived children between the ages of 6 and 10 is easily accomplished at school. Special classes should be provided for those who arrive between the ages of 10 and 14 to afford them an opportunity to acquire the language more quickly, with the least possible loss of time.)

Extra-curricular activities. (1) Dramatic participation will prove successful with the younger children, especially if organized as extra-curricular activity around the stories of the heroes, etc. (a) Have plays prepared on the basis of the stories of achievements in the past of members of group — clustering round holiday celebration. Example: Utilize Washington's Birthday for bringing out concrete examples of Jews in Revolutionary War. (Solomon, Col. Isaac Franks (1759-1822) Aide-de-Camp to George Washington,

Col. David S. Franks, etc.) (b) Dramatization, after reading and discussion — write outline of scenes — call for volunteers to take parts indicated — let them go through the pantomime; make dialogues short — no lengthy speeches.

(2) Inter-racial pageants, tableaux vivants. Utilize these to better advantage, at holiday and school celebrations, the 12-14-year-olds participating. (Example: In the case of Thanksgiving, trace Jewish origin of the holiday — Feast of the Harvest. Tabernacles.)

(3) Current events. Arrange for series of charts or bulletins, among which may be one for events which concern the school district or neighborhood, one for the city and state, one for the country, and one or two for outside countries. (a) Have each bulletin labeled properly. (b) Post interesting pictures and accounts of important events. (c) Call upon the pupils to furnish material. (d) The teacher should exhibit a personal interest in this matter herself. (e) Once a week the teacher should use a few minutes in showing and explaining the pictures and in reading accounts which are to be posted. (f) Have scrapbooks containing clippings telling of valiant deeds of members of the group — hero worship. Very effective with children.

(4) The work of the teacher. The teacher should take advantage of every opportunity to bring out that America welcomes every spiritual influence, every cultural urge and ancient experience, that America is made richer and more fruitful by the gifts and services of many nationalities; she should help the children to learn how much each race has brought from its past in other lands, and how much each has contributed and can contribute here; she should awaken a certain amount of pride and ambition in the children to live up to the traditions and hopes of their ancestors and should endeavor to promote sympathy and understanding between different groups in the American community. We might have some school assemblies organized around this idea, each group or class in the school contributing its share toward the program, in which the outstanding virtues of each group would be emphasized.

IX. As far as the question of the application of the above means and methods to different age levels is concerned, some supplementary program based on the regularly prescribed history and civics courses in each class might be worked out; for example:

(1) For Grades 4a to 6b we might add several lessons in story form telling of the manner in which Jews aided Columbus in discovery of America, or of the Jews who participated in the American

wars (Revolutionary, Mexican, Civil, Spanish, down to our day). The majority of the extra-curricular activities might be utilized advantageously in these grades.

(2) For Grades 7a to 8a we might add several lessons on the economic and social contributions which Jews have made to American life. (Example: Predominating factor in building up garment and clothing industries; genius for business, commercial enterprise and organization, etc., permanent settlers, not "birds of passage"; zeal for learning; leaders in art and science, etc.) Visits to model American-Jewish institutions involving observations, reports, etc., might also be feasible for children in these grades.

(3) For Grades 8b to 9b the discussion of debatable issues regarding immigration, the evaluation of the social and economic contributions of the various groups, the question of the relationship between groups, etc., might be taken up to develop a constructive point of view and a fine attitude of tolerance toward this problem.

In conclusion, I wish to reemphasize my conviction that each immigrant group ought to be encouraged by all far-sighted Americans, and ought to be afforded every opportunity to preserve its own culture. American culture at the present time is vague, undefinable, in the process of formulation. Each group ought to be expected to make a distinct contribution, growing out of its own life, toward the creation of distinct American culture. The children of any particular group should be encouraged by the school to take advantage of any supplementary education given by that group. It should adjust its schedule to make it possible for them to attend such courses.

We ought to take advantage of every opportunity to educate our immigrants as well as our natives up to the ideal American point of view. Who is to be expected to lead in this if not the teacher? Let us study this problem carefully so that our conclusions may not be based on prejudice, but on thorough and sympathetic understanding.

V. (C. C. P.) PROPOSED COURSES OF STUDY FOR 9TH AND 10TH GRADES FOR A TYPE GROUP

Case I. "One hundred girls from rich families, large homes, expect to go to college, but only for social reasons as now felt; average to excellent mentality, nervous physically and often overwrought by social excitement; are extravagant, luxurious, and unconsciously selfish; have never worked physically, and do not seriously expect ever to do 'hard work' of any kind, but the least

selfish talk vaguely about 'social work' and the 'new professions for women'; their civic ideals are half 'parlor-socialistic,' half reactionary, strongly feminist, and anti-domestic; they have given much time to music, but with no deep interest; are inveterate readers of light fiction; ideals of English speech are low, and of manners 'up-to-date.' Sixty per cent will marry, 25-30; remainder will remain celibate with moderate inherited income."

Objectives. Among the objectives the school should aim at in the case of this group are the following:

1. To give these girls more of the "hard" attitude toward life than their environment is able to produce in them. That is, the work spirit.

2. To develop sympathy with, and an understanding of, certain social classes from which the conditions of their bringing up have excluded them.

3. To put them in touch with the activities and institutions about them (including the political), so that they may think, talk, and act intelligently in reference to them, and may understand others when they so talk; also as a background for the future systematic study of economics and sociology. This is necessary because these girls have been shielded at home from much direct contact with these matters, except as they have picked up a little in a scattered way from modern novels.

4. To give them, at the gateway of their entrance into a new realm of studies, a broad survey of a considerable portion of the field of organized knowledge, partly as a means of orientation in the specialized studies beyond, and partly as their only touch with certain fields which they cannot study further but which they should not entirely miss. (This latter is cultural.)

5. To improve their oral and written expression.

6. To supply a basis for self-guidance in certain critical phases of personal conduct, particularly those having to do with sex and courtship.

7. To foster such normal development (of tastes, of physique, of recreational abilities) through spontaneous activities as naturally go with life at this stage. (Beta activities.)

GENERAL STATEMENT ON MEANS OF REALIZING SOME OF THE ABOVE OBJECTIVES

1. *The work spirit.* Perhaps the most difficult end the school can undertake to realize with this type group is that of inculcating in

its members the "hard," or work, spirit. The whole atmosphere of their home, and of their out-of-school environment, is against it. The parents may even go so far as actively to oppose it. They will admit the desirability of the spirit of work for people in general, but will smile at ambitions on the part of their own daughters to work, or even aggressively deny her opportunities to do so. But perhaps the school can accomplish *something* toward realizing the aim of a "hard" attitude.

(a) It seems likely that the effort will need to begin on the side of action rather than instruction. Apart from practice theory will become mere sentimentalism. The girls may be encouraged to undertake strenuous physical exertion projects, particularly group hikes. These should be long and trying, and all complaining should be taboo. The teacher should herself lead in them. Similarly basketball or gymnasium projects could be employed, but always in the "hard" spirit. So, too, good use could probably be made of home projects, as making up the beds for a certain period, washing the dishes, sweeping the floors, sewing for charity, etc. These should be supervised in school, should be competitive, and should be sustained by pressure from the class under the inspiration and guidance of the teacher. If it would help any, school credit should be given for them.

(b) Along with this practice in "hard" activities should go a persistent effort to develop "hard" ideals. All of the teachers should be on the lookout for any natural opportunities to make such thrusts as will add odium to the "soft" attitude or attractiveness to the "hard" one. This incidental teaching should probably be supplemented by systematic instruction in the social-science classes. Here a natural opportunity can readily be found for showing the place of the attitude that every one should produce at least as much as he consumes. Also an opportunity can easily be created, in connection with the study of what makes life most worth while (perhaps as part of a social-science course), for showing the value of work in organizing personality and as a factor in happiness. A study of the Influence of Women in Modern Life (part of Social Science), based on reading and discussion of the lives of women "heroes" and of magazine stories of women who insisted upon making their own way in spite of the wealth of their parents, should add to the "hard" spirit.

2. *Acquaintance with working classes* and the working world. Of course this cannot be largely achieved in the little time that can

be given to it in the school between the ages of 14 and 16. Yet a start can be made that should serve as a basis of future reading and study (particularly college economics and sociology), and as the inception of a habit of thinking of classes outside of one's own.

To the above end there may be conducted a study of vocations (not undertaken for the purpose of vocational guidance but rather for that of appreciation). It should include a consideration of the importance of the vocations studied in modern society, certain general economic features about the vocation and its workers, visits to establishments where the vocation is being plied, and published "confessions" of men engaged in it, the last giving its bright as well as its dark side. In addition to the visits to the factories and other working places, more prolonged visits might be made to the manual-training schools, where the girls could get acquainted with the technical names of the tools and processes used. Each girl should be required to write up an account of her field study, using in it the proper technical names of tools and processes.

3. *Study of the community* — its activities, its institutions, its excellences and defects compared with other communities. This can serve as a basis for intelligently reading newspapers, listening to talks, or participating in conversations on community matters. It also affords a necessary basis for the understanding of sociology and economics taken up later in the school career. For the sake of orientation in future study of the community it might include, besides the practice and content discussion, a discussion of such questions as "Why people should study their community," "How to go about studying a community," "The courtesies due in such studies." (This would need to lie in cold storage for some ten years, but might do good in prompting later community study.)

4. *Orientation*. These girls will be required later to take specialized courses in science and in mathematics. Experience shows that many, if not most, persons go through compulsory mathematics and science without getting any real sense of the "exterior relationships" of these subjects. They get no genuine appreciation of the place of mathematics in life, or even of the subject itself. They only master, with such thoroughness as they must, its technical details. And the same thing is true of science. I am convinced that the best way to give perspective to the details in which the pupils will later be immersed is to precede the specialized courses by a general orienting course. In the case of mathematics such a course would undertake to show by illustrations what is the spirit of

geometrical proof, what algebra can do, what trigonometry is about and what can be done with it, even what are the nature and possibilities of calculus. It would show what mathematics has meant in history, what achievements today are dependent upon it, and the spirit in which the mathematician has worked and is now working. The course in General Science would have a somewhat similar character. (Neither general science nor combined mathematics as now taught has quite the above character.)

Not only would such courses give perspective in the later specialized studies, but they would also afford our girls a little instruction in a field they would otherwise miss entirely. Under the present scheme few persons, even among those who go to college, get training in all phases of science and mathematics. They are usually required to take something in each field, but they ordinarily satisfy the requirement by working only in a few spots (as by taking chemistry as the representative of the physical sciences). But it is important (for cultural reasons) that no one should be entirely ignorant of any large phase of human interest and activity, and the general course, early in one's career, makes it possible to get at least a slight acquaintance with the areas that otherwise he would entirely miss.

5. *Expression.* It requires no courage to urge the inclusion of this, as it has an established place in practically every course of study. But we want it to take such form here as will enable us to overcome the particular expressional deficiencies of our group.

6. *Eugenics.* In the case of our type group certain fortunate taboos will quite certainly be built up at home. The girls will be well chaperoned and not so likely to allow illegitimate liberties as are girls of a lower social class. But these taboos will seldom be rationally grounded and so will be in constant danger of breaking down. Particularly do our girls need to take a more rational attitude toward controlling love, and toward choosing a mate, than the home alone is likely to develop. They need some instruction in the principles of heredity, in matters related to sex, and in respect to proper conduct toward the opposite sex. For the present the home ordinarily reserves to itself the last two, especially the last, but seldom does anything with the first. Ultimately these will probably be regarded as residual functions of the school. Of course much of this instruction belongs later in the girl's school life, but girls of sixteen are already in the sentimental age and experience has shown many an unfortunate eventuality for want of the right kind of guidance.

7. *Developmental activities.* Our type group will have many more opportunities for developmental activity at home than have less fortunate classes. Yet the social element that is possible in the school more largely than at home makes it desirable that the school provide opportunity for *elective* courses of the Beta type. As long, too, as the school undertakes to control such a large portion of the girl's time as it now does, the Beta activities that every normal person needs should be included within that time, not crowded outside of it by a full day of Alpha activities, but there is no objection to allowing these activities to go on in the home (e.g., vocal music) provided they are given school credit and allowed to count on school time.

OUTLINE OF COURSE OF STUDY

9TH GRADE

Alpha Subjects

General mathematics	3 year hours
General science	3 year hours
Social science	5 year hours
English language (oral and written comp.)	3 year hours
Home projects and physical training	2 year hours

Beta Subjects

English literature	3 year hours
Practical arts, music appreciation, etc.	2 year hours
Free play, chaperoned parties, etc.	—

10TH GRADE

Alpha Subjects

Applied biology	2 year hours
Social science	5 year hours
English (oral and written comp.)	3 year hours
General mathematics (cont.)	2 year hours

Beta Subjects

English literature	3 year hours
Art appreciation, music appreciation, practical arts, etc.	4 year hours
Free play, chaperoned parties, etc.	—
Criticism of theater-plays, current events, etc.	—

Social science is to include a survey of vocations and labor conditions and problems; study of the activities and institutions of the

community; women in modern life (based largely on "woman hero" stories and emphasizing "hard" elements); what the state does for us and what we owe in turn to the state; what our country stands for; the main elements in the program of present-day "radical" political reformers; the attitude one should take toward forward movements; relations of citizens to law enforcement; cursory discussion of what we can do to prevent our government from being corrupted; our part in conserving and increasing the social wealth (as keeping down fires, avoiding waste in food and clothing, dispensing as largely as possible with the personal services of others; every man a worker; luxury); personal and community health; explanation of some of our present-day social and political institutions and customs in terms of how they came about — as many of the last as time will permit. (This is the only history work called for here. Biographical history has preceded and the systematic study of history may come later. In connection with this last group of topics problems of personal conduct can be brought in, centering about the institutions and customs to which they relate.)

Literature. Reading of magazine stories in class with criticism of them; also a few novels. Start with present tastes and try to lead up gradually toward better. But do not force development. There is plenty of school time ahead. Too much forcing will alienate the girls from the kind of reading into which we wish to initiate them, instead of attracting them to it; besides, our subject will cease to be a Beta one if we force it.

Applied biology. The laws of heredity studied first in plant and animal applications, then transferred to man; transmissible physical and mental defects; application of this to avoiding certain types of mates; the control of love; behavior in relation to the opposite sex; sex hygiene. If long on time here and short in Social Science, the entire discussion of the conservation of personal and community health could be put here. (Applied biology is scarcely an appropriate name for such course, but one dare not, at this time, name it what it is, and "Applied Biology" seems to be a good camouflage for it.)

VI. (R. A. C.) A PLAN FOR COMMUNICATING THE SPIRIT OF AMERICA TO THE FOREIGN-BORN PUPIL (AGES 12-14)

I. *Group conditions.* Boys aged twelve to fourteen, born in southern Italy, now living in crowded foreign quarter of a large eastern American city. Having had a year's instruction here in a

public school, they are able to speak the English language well enough to make known their wants, and to understand simple English when it is spoken to them.

II. *Diagnosis.* These boys belong to poor families, the large majority of which have come from the country districts of southern Italy, not from the slums of the cities. Their parents for the most part have been small farmers or hired laborers who worked upon the soil, though, because of long distances from centers, they have been accustomed through necessity to perform many odd jobs such as "building a stone wall, shoeing a horse, mending a plow, cobbling a shoe, making a passable broom out of a handful of bushes, trimming a haystack in an artistic manner," etc. About one family in every hundred has come from an Italian city; there the male parents have been for the most part skilled artisans, stone cutters, sculptors, barbers, or waiters. The farmers have never had an inch of ground of their own, but all have come through the offices of the inspectors in both Italy and America with clean bills of health. Though poor, ignorant, and often extremely narrow, they are enterprising, plucky, temperate, patient in a remarkable degree, highly industrious, and thrifty. They have come to this country to improve their economic conditions, because to them America has meant "The Land of Opportunity," as it has to so many of the rest of us.

Dominant characteristics of the pupils. They are physically healthy, intensely interested in increasing their power to use the English language, usually with a view to making, as soon as possible, small earnings outside of school hours, and of leaving school as soon as the law will allow. They heartily dislike remaining in school after school hours, as that interferes with work required of them by their parents, who, up to this period, incline to strict enforcement of obedience, the father being absolute head of the household. They stand aloof from members of the school who know either less or more English than they do themselves and are disinclined to associate with girls of their own age, who are not relatives, as such association is not allowed by their parents—but are greatly influenced by women teachers whom they like. They show the innate politeness which springs from kindness of heart; evince strong loves and hates that last; have affectionate ways of showing appreciation of kindnesses from others; are much given to attending religious services where they are most likely to receive material benefits in the form of presents, sometimes going to two or three

different denominational churches in succession on a great holiday. They are careless, often dirty in their dress and person, and show marked disposition to oppose taking of baths, especially in winter; are unhygienic in behavior, particularly in such matters as habits of expectorating, casting banana peels and other refuse in the yards or leaving them in their desks, bringing heavy deposits of mud into the classroom on their shoes, etc. Their emotional natures are easily touched; their love of art and music is deep-seated and real; and they show a medium degree of brightness; several, however, are exceptionally dull, while here and there is found budding genius. Except as regards the improvement of their English, they incline to take things very comfortably and to expend little effort. Truancy is beginning to appear in some individuals and there is a fairly confirmed habit of remaining at home frequently to assist mother in times of sickness, or to care for smaller children when the mother is obliged to leave the house. They have small opportunity to study at home in quiet because of large families and the presence of several boarders; this crowded condition (many persons living in a few small rooms) postpones their retiring until late at night, which causes them to be tardy frequently at school and sometimes sleepy during school hours. Already they show signs of pride in their English, and shame at their parents' inability to speak the language, often, also, at their peasant's costume. They respond readily to praise and to suitable, appealing rewards for effort and achievement.

III. *Prognosis, general.* If these boys receive no more effective education or guidance than those of the same class who have preceded them, a large proportion of them will enter the ranks of unskilled labor, a few of the brightest will pick up a trade, many will be found in factories, an almost negligible portion will drift back to the country on to the soil or into the quarries, a few will enter business, still another few will find an honored place in the professions and the arts. This group, as others, contains leaders as well as followers. Their friends will be largely within their own group, and their friendships will be close and intimate. Their families will be large, and they will support them without asking aid. While not in any large number patrons of public libraries, they will frequently be seen at good concerts, especially when some one of their own race is announced as the artist, and will often spend a Sunday afternoon at the art museum, where Sunday after Sunday they will be found in remarkably large numbers. They will be generous patrons of charities which appeal to them; while

not so frugal as their parents, they will, on the whole, be simple in their living, except on days of great feasts and on occasions of family rejoicing, when they will expend large sums on food and floral decorations. These people will all belong to labor unions or other fraternities. Not more than the usual proportion of a community where earnings are small will become lawbreakers and find their way to jail.

IV. *Prognosis, civic.* The civics of the traditional kind taught in our schools will affect these pupils not at all. On reaching adult age they will be easily led by a boss of the American type, or worse still, by one of their own number who possesses the quality of leadership but no adequate knowledge. They will interpret America in terms of their own personal experiences with individuals with whom they happen to come in direct contact, with individuals who steal from them, mete out injustices to them, keep their wage as low as possible, ridicule them and treat them contemptuously — these are the policeman who takes bananas from their father's pushcart and does not pay for them, the tactless social visitor who seems to them to enter their homes through curiosity and to interfere in their family affairs, judges and jurymen who practice upon them injustices and extortions, native Americans who think themselves too good to associate in friendly relationship with them. Their interpretation of America will be a guess from these concrete experiences; and their resulting attitude will be one of suspicion toward America and antagonism to her institutions. Probably about 15 per cent will become voters — most of these will give their vote merely because some one asks them for it. They will learn sufficiently to sense what they themselves have missed in education to make an effort to give to their children a better education than they had. Probably 90 per cent will marry within their own group and through music and story-telling will perpetuate their own hopes, aspirations, and attitudes. Only a negligible number will leave the United States permanently. They will not read with enough ease to enjoy reading, therefore will not improve their education, or increase their knowledge, or make more reliable their judgments to any extent through a habit of reading the daily news or current magazines. They will tend therefore to perpetuate their prejudices in their children.

V. *Civic deficiencies specifically stated.* Prominent civic deficiencies of this group at ages 30–60 will be: (a) Failure to realize that America is for their children as for other children of this land and

that they must put all they have into efforts for the welfare of the country and the welfare of their children who are to be of the country and benefit from it. (b) Failure to comprehend the value of community service and coöperation for a group cause of civic nature. (c) Failure to understand the personal returns that accrue from hygienic living. (d) Failure to recognize the extent of personal responsibility in the use of the ballot, and the choice of a leader. (e) Lack of standards by which to judge good leaders. (f) Failure to understand that American institutions and American laws exist solely for the good of the American people.

VI. *Proposed specific objectives.* (a) To develop an appreciation of the personal equations in American institutions, laws, customs, aspirations, ideals — “How does this bring good to me and to my children?”

(b) To develop the *will*, the *necessary knowledge*, and the *requisite power* to serve the community in which they live, and to coöperate with zeal in a group cause even when it is opposed to a purely personal interest.

(c) To produce habits of hygienic living.

(d) To stimulate the will and judgment in choosing leaders possessing qualities of fitness for their work.

(e) To arouse a sense of responsibility of the individual as a member of the group.

VII. *Problems of method.* (a) Reading is as yet accomplished with labor; is it likely that textbook material will secure any functioning results? (b) Since they are still strangers in the neighborhood, is it likely that direct appeals to altruistic tendencies will count? (c) Will the traditional morning talk accomplish anything? (d) In the absence of American experiences of a normal type, is not the first need that of personal contact with impelling forces? (e) What shall be the character of these experiences? (f) In what type of school will appropriate experiences be most readily given and most effectively function?

VIII. *Proposed methods.* (a) On the basis of the belief that good citizenship is a phase of living common to girls and boys as well as to adults, that habits and aptitudes of good civic living grow with appropriate experiences within small groups, and that they begin to grow just as soon as the individual begins to feel himself a responsible member of a social group, whatever his age, it is proposed to accomplish group situations for these boys in which they will work toward the civic objectives proposed under VI. The time allowance will

be one hour each day. It is felt that this is not excessive, since the school's greatest responsibility to these boys lies in its obligation to integrate them into American life, as only in the success of this process can America profit by their presence here and can they here enjoy their birthright of the pursuit of happiness.

(b) *Proposed program in civics.*

Projects centering around school welfare and community welfare.

- A. Junior Civic League (or some other title chosen by the boys). Committees self-appointed. Possibilities suggested below:

An Advisory Council, a Good Citizenship Committee, Board of Health, Public Works Department, Library Department, Entertainment Committee.

Method and matter should lead to knowledge of related governmental agencies, to names of present officials, and methods of selecting and financing, also ways the individual can use the knowledge helpfully.

- B. Junior Aids (or some other title chosen by the boys).

A slogan of some kind — "We live in the schoolroom five hours a day; why not make it a pleasant place in which to stay?"

Committees self-appointed — Suggested possibilities:

Decoration — of a more or less permanent character:

Subdivisions: shelf, plant, loam, picture.

Special Holiday Staff. Hallowe'en, Armistice Day, Thanksgiving, Christmas, Easter Season, Valentine's Day, Washington's Birthday, Arbor Day, etc. (Additions and omissions according to interest and locality.)

Auxiliary Committees. Thrift or waste, exhibit, bulletin board and filing, correspondence, bureau of information (this in connection with traveling or locally established art or other exhibits of group interest, moving-picture helps, names and addresses of persons, films, companies, or bureaus likely to have materials or information useful in civic connections; this activity may well be extended into community service to the foreign families newly arrived).

- C. Drives connected with community or national activities.
- D. Campaigns¹ connected with community or national activities.
- E. Literature, biographies, stories, poems — all simple but stirring.
- F. Drama — capable of making a very strong appeal to this group.
- G. Music — capable of making a very strong appeal to this group.

For this group civics could be made the core about which could be built much of the work in the three R's, in the cultural subjects, and also in the hand work which it is hoped would be provided for these boys.

VII. (M. E. D.) PROGRAM FOR A CASE GROUP OF BOYS FROM HIGH-GRADE ENVIRONMENT

1. *Case group.* Boys about 14 years of age in 8th grade of a training school of a normal college in a Western city of about 30,000 population.

2. *Diagnosis.* These boys are the sons of professional and average well-to-do business men. Socially their parents belong to the so-called "middle class." Intellectually they are rather superior. The boys will range from the average to the superior class mentally. They have been rather carefully reared and have been taught to conform in the usual way. They have had the influence of and access to the advantages offered by the normal school, the library of the Y. M. C. A., etc. While the school is directly supervised by the normal school, it is essentially "free," wherein it is necessary for the boys to assume initiative and responsibility. These boys accept school as a matter of course, some requiring urging by parents and teachers, others absorbed. They will probably continue through the high school and many will go to normal school and college. Physically, they are healthy. Many excel in athletic sports. They are fairly well satisfied with the life they lead. There are already indications of "smugness." They are ambitious personally and for

¹ Illustrations of possible campaigns:

- Clean-up Week;
- Drink More Milk;
- See a Dentist;
- Join the Oculists' Glasses Club; etc.

own group. They take an active part in public questions, elections, etc.

3. *Prognosis, general.* These boys will become professional men (some will be teachers, due to the influence of the normal school), commercial or business men. Few of them will engage in farming or the trades. They will represent the average well-to-do citizen. Some of them will be leaders in their chosen profession. They will be members of the leading clubs, and will take part in the activities of the city. There will be coöperation and loyalty within their own group.

4. *Prognosis, civic.* They will become law-abiding, conforming citizens, with a tendency to ignore any group of a different political or social faith. Many of them will be leaders of the recognized order, socially and politically. Others will be absorbed in self-promotion.

5. *Civic deficiencies.* Lack of understanding of and sympathy with the so-called inferior groups; lack of adequate sociological background; lack of ability to coöperate with all classes; lack of ability to meet exigencies, such as strikes, etc.

6. *Proposed objectives.* Civics will emerge from the curriculum as a specific study in the 8th grade. (a) To lay a foundation for later civic study. (b) To aid the group to meet present civic situations, working knowledge of data. (c) To create a motive for participation in community life. (d) To develop a degree of coöperation, initiative, and responsibility. (e) To develop "social thought, feeling, and action."

7. *Proposed methods.* (a) Use the problem-project method. (b) First-hand investigation. (c) Supplementation — books, magazines, etc. (d) Participation in school and in community when feasible. (e) Dramatization. (f) "Socialized" procedure.

8. *Proposed content.* (a) Health — personal and public.

(a1) Work of the home — school — community.

(a2) Pure foods — water, milk, etc. How obtained, distribution, legislation.

(a3) Disposal of waste.

(b) Social agencies, laws.

(c) Civic beauty, laws.

(d) Transportation and communication.

(e) Survey of the communities' industries — informational.

9. *Activities.*

Debates, speeches, pageants, dramas (original), score cards, charts, maps, participation.

VIII. (R. W. H.) PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR SELECTED GROUP

Boys 16-18 years of age in high schools of cities of 100,000 to 300,000 in North Atlantic states.

Case group. These boys are a sifted group, able to stay in school, coming from well-to-do but not wealthy homes for the most part; do not expect to go to college. Many racial stocks are represented. They have little enthusiasm for school work, are infected with the "get by" attitude, and give little thought as to their future life work. On the whole a clean and wholesome type, since most of the undesirables have been sifted out; greatly interested in athletics; like to join fraternities and clubs; prefer men teachers; dislike preachments, and "soft" penalties. They enjoy open discussion, particularly of a political nature, and will reason more clearly and to the point than girls in these matters.

Will become for the great part good conforming citizens; will join a political party and remain regular; will be skillfully manipulated by party bosses; are sectional in their political views; will hold minor offices in their home city; build up a small business of their own or become managers or salesmen for large business firms. In general, a solid upper-grade middle class.

Main objectives. Training that will produce: (1) a healthful citizen, (2) a "vocational" citizen, (3) an educated citizen, (4) a participating citizen. (Nos. 1 and 2, although highly important in any well-rounded scheme for citizenship training, are not under discussion in this paper.)

Specific civic objectives for "the educated citizen" should include:

- (1) A body of general information: knowledge of (a) his own country and its institutions, (b) other countries and their institutions.
- (2) An interest in and comprehensive understanding of the social problems of his own time.
- (3) An open-minded attitude toward controversial subjects.
- (4) A proper evaluation of his own responsibilities for his group relationships: (a) home, (b) associate, (c) federate.
- (5) A recognition of the value of his civic inheritance.

"The participating citizen" should have training which will give him:

- (1) The incentive to give time and thought and, if need be, participation in public affairs.
- (2) An understanding of the way to go about it to obtain authentic information on public questions.
- (3) The ability to evaluate correctly qualities of leadership in public servants.

Methodology. Toward making the "educated citizen" are recommended courses in (1) Modern History; (2) American History and Government; (3) Problems in American Democracy.

(1) Modern History: Introductory statement. As a teacher of history for many years I have come to feel with increasing force that history is not doing for our pupils what the Committee of Seven said history should do. For instance, in that report (1899) under the caption of "Training for Citizenship" we note the following as objectives of history: "History cultivates the judgment by leading the pupil to see the relation between cause and effect;" "the power to gather information and to use it;" "training in the handling of books;" "historical mindedness;" "developing the scientific habit of thought;" etc. It is my contention that these objectives, splendid in themselves in training citizens, are not realized from the study of history as generally taught in our high schools today. Dr. Tuell in *Study of Nations* writes: "History in the schools has recently been put on the defensive, challenged as a failure in its civic functions. Its established theory crumbles for lack of definite social purpose."

Problem. Let us set as our objectives the citizenship concomitants set forth by the Committee of Seven as listed above, and take our method from Dewey: "The true starting point of history is always some present-day situation." If this general method is followed, the class will not have the customary chart and guide in the form of a chronologically arranged text. The special method employed is the problem-project with its essential four steps, "purposing, planning, execution, judgment." The field to be covered is from 1650 to the present. The class is democratically organized with chairman, secretary, and activities' committees, a large chronological chart is drawn up, reference shelves reserved in the school library, one of the Current Event Publications for each member of the class, and a civic notebook kept.

Type of projects. (1) The Industrial Revolution and how it

affects us today. (2) How did France become a republic? (3) What are the causes underlying the unrest in Russia? (4) Why is Japan one of the five leading nations? (5) What were the causes of the World War? (6) Why is Poland demanding her "ancient rights and privileges"? (7) What power does the King of England actually possess today? (8) How did Italy become something more than "a geographical expression"? (9) What is the significance of the title of "The Fatherland" in German history? (10) What is the League of Nations? etc., etc.

Many such pertinent questions as these, bearing directly upon the social, political, and economic phases of modern life, rise naturally to the lips of pupils awake to present-day conditions. It is one of the chief duties of the teacher to stimulate these interests and then guide them intelligently. The instructor should have so charted his course in advance that at the end of the year's work the class would have "covered essentials," although in no page-by-page fashion. The fact content, in my mind, will be as great under this method, more ready for use, and better retained in memory. Summaries or "irreducible minimums" should be built up at the end of each project, mimeographed, and each member should have a copy.

There is little that is new in this particular approach. Dr. Snedden several years ago pointed out the distinction between the "assimilation" and the "cold storage" methods in history teaching. The objectives desired are secured. The pupils get the ability to gather the information necessary to solve the particular problem on hand; while the classroom discussions and debates develop "light, not heat," independent judgment, and historical mindedness.

(2) American History and Government and (3) The Problems of American Democracy. Introductory statement:

In the course in American History and Government the stress should come on the nationalistic period. A rapid review of the discovery and colonial period, while half of the time usually allotted to the Revolutionary period might well be devoted to a study of its causes. For the constitutional period Dr. Butler has suggested: "We have not recently done any effective or widespread work in teaching the fundamental principles of American government. We have taught . . . the mechanics of government and some of the practices of citizenship, but the underlying theories we have passed by as self-evident." The problem here is how to get over to these young citizens these "fundamental theories and principles," so they will come to have a proper evaluation of their political inheri-

tance. Method: Thorndike in *Education*: "The educational value of finding the causes of what is, and the causes of these causes, is very much superior to the spurious reasoning which comes from explaining a record already known." Work this theory out in some vital present-day situation, e.g., the Eighteenth Amendment. What are the constitutional rights claimed to be invaded? Let these be listed for purposes of class discussion and study.

(1) The right of a state to determine this issue for itself. (2) The right of the government to take over and destroy private property without compensation. (3) The right of a general state referendum to overrule legislative action. (4) The claim that it was not legally adopted: (a) due to the absence of many overseas voters; (b) due to a general willingness to sacrifice one's rights temporarily during wartime; (c) due to a technical illegality in the wording of the amendment, etc. Take these up for discussion separately, consult authorities, publications, and have each one defend his position. A formal debate might close the general discussion. This is typical of the "Problems in Democracy" for the senior year. This course should make use of all that has gone before. Government, like history, will be called in only when needed for purposes of problem solution. Our high schools can no longer play the ostrich policy on the controversial questions which will be met with this Twelfth year. All teachers and pupils should be seekers after truth, working in the spirit of Franklin's plea for harmony at the Constitutional Convention: "It is light, not heat, gentlemen, that the country demands of us."

These "Problems" can be arranged and presented by the teacher according to the character of the class, the amount of available material, and the immediate interest of the topic. Suggestions:

Political problems. (1) Types of city government. (2) The League of Nations. (3) The "grandfather clauses." (4) Compulsory military training. (5) The D. and R. economic problems: (a) Conservation of natural resources; (b) Government paper money; (c) Capital vs. labor; (d) The tariff; (e) Government ownership.

Social problems. (1) Immigration; (2) The negro question; (3) Marriage and divorce; (4) Socialism; (5) Women in industry. Well-nigh indispensable adjuncts to this course are: (a) a debating society or congress; (b) a current events club; (c) a clipping book or filing cabinet; (d) coöperation with the local librarian; (e) the socialized recitation; (f) a teacher trained to handle the project method. According to Parker it will take four years in service adequately to

train a teacher to handle this method. At the close of a discussion of any one of these problems it would be well to have a formal debate. Thereby those particularly interested can go farther afield, consult many authorities, prepare a brief, and learn to think and talk to the point.

Here is the place for the "thin" textbook. One small book could contain the basic material for one of these main problems or a related group of problems. This material should present both sides of the question, and quote extensively from authorities. Some of the fundamental principles of economic theory should be set forth: e.g., the laws governing supply and demand; the theory of Malthus; Gresham's Law. At the close of this "thin" text, debatable resolutions bearing on the problem could be presented, and possibly the main heads of a brief, with a few good references on both sides of the question.

During this as well as the previous year the class should have training in evaluating the news, distinguishing between fact and opinion, and comparing and balancing authorities. They should learn how to handle the Dewey decimal system and the Readers' Guide. It would be greatly to their advantage to know a little psychology — enough, at least, to show them how habits are formed, with definite application in their individual cases, in learning how to study, or how to break a bad habit and form a good one.

The participating citizen: "The citizenship muscles of the future American man, and even more woman, must be exercised." The best hope we have of the kind of citizens these boys are going to become is the kind of citizens they prove themselves to be in their daily contacts at school and in the community. To be sure, the pulls and strains of later years may overcome all previous training. Two things we can do: First, subject the boys to as many of these vital situations in school as we can devise. The school should organize in as democratic manner as possible on the basis of meeting its own needs, and not on any artificial basis. Pupils should participate in the organization and direction of school activities, both athletic and social. Election of officers for these positions should be conducted in a dignified and parliamentary manner. There are many ways of getting this type of participation within the school, but more important and far more difficult is the second; namely, participation that takes the boy out into the community, doing those worthwhile things which the city recognizes as being distinctly valuable. During the war there were many splendid illustrations of this; e.g.,

Boys' Working Reserve. This was the finest type of citizenship training, as their civic ideals eventuated into worth-while activity. "Action is the only foundation of virtue," says Aristotle. We need to devise ways and means of getting boys of this age group interested and engaged in such community activities. Two helpful publications: (1) *The Junior Citizen*, published by the Chamber of Commerce, Lincoln, Nebraska, is an account of the activities and community projects of the Junior Civic and Industrial League. The significant fact is that the Chamber of Commerce of Lincoln is working with the school leagues, a very hopeful sign. (2) *A Course of Study in Civics* — stressing particularly participation, issued by the State Normal School, San José, California. Conclusion: "One founder is worth a thousand reformers" (Horace Mann).

IX. (J. V. L. M.) PROPOSED PROGRAM OF CIVIC EDUCATION FOR APPRENTICE SCHOOLS IN THE MANUFACTURING CRAFTS AND IN RAILROAD SHOPS

I. Considerations upon which recommendations are based:

1. *Type of student.*

Boys, age group 16 to 18, or first two years of apprenticeship; high percentage of native parentage; above the average schooling (usually 8th grade or better); a group selected by the management of the employing industry for apparently superior industrial intelligence and physique and by rejecting undesirables after a probationary period of several months; applicants willing to forgo the somewhat better financial returns of ordinary casual adolescent employment to stick to one employer for a period of three to five years, and to utilize part of their own free time in study or supplementary night-school instruction, and who prefer manual employment to sedentary clerical positions.

2. Adult group aged 25 to 60 whom they may be expected to replace: industrial foremen and superintendents and the unionized craftsmen; a considerable percentage apprentice-trained; frequently relatives of the boys; show a tendency to migrate in employment during a period after completing apprenticeship; apparently prefer stable employment in mature years; under favorable conditions home owners and family men; patriotic and until recently conservative in their political opinions; at present apparently show a tendency more radical, as evidenced by such movements as

the "Plumb plan" and by agitation for industrial democracy, with some support for employee coöperative enterprises.

II. *Type of instructor recommended.*

One neutral as to capital-labor controversies, such as an educator who has been a student of economics, sociology, and psychology, acceptable both to the industry's management and the employees' organizations, who has the good will of the apprentices, of the type of the supervisor of apprentices usually found in these plants. In some cases perhaps to be supplied by the industrial Y. M. C. A.

III. *Courses recommended.*

COURSE A

1. Discussion of conditions and opportunities of apprenticeship.
 - a. The organization of the shop instruction and of the supplementary studies and their utility.
 - b. Opportunities of the apprentices as evidenced by present positions of former graduates.
2. Industrial relationships.
 - a. Necessity for shop discipline.
 - b. Relationships to fellow apprentices and other employees.
3. Civic responsibilities.
 - a. Frank discussion of current public questions, such as at this moment — prohibition, the acceptance of the League of Nations by the United States, deportation of communistic aliens, exclusion of Socialists from the state assembly.
 - b. The party system and local participation.
 - c. Discussion of present office holders as to their fitness for their positions in federal, state, and local government.
 - d. Local problems such as traction facilities and education, with fiscal limitations.
4. Trade unionism.
 - a. History and organization.
 - b. Strikes, when justified and likely to be successful. Costs to labor, industry, and the public. Means for avoidance.
 - c. Relation to production efficiency. Weekly and daily hour schedules. Piece work. Bonuses and profit sharing.
 - d. Craft pride.

5. Thrift.

- a. Saving, banking, building and loan associations. Life insurance, safe investments.
- b. Home ownership.

COURSE B

6. Health.

- a. Temperance, athletic clubs.
- b. Hygiene, cleanliness, and occupational diseases in industry concerned.
- c. Sex continence.

7. Accident prevention and alleviation.

- a. Investigation of summary of accidents in the plant, with discussion of means of prevention. Workmen's compensation law.
- b. First-aid treatment.

8. Employees' coöperative enterprises.

- a. Discussion of any such in operation either in plant concerned or where known to boys. Sources of saving in distribution cost. Probable limitations.

9. Corporation organization.

- a. The plant's table of organization.
- b. Personality of officials, and duties.
- c. Teamwork and company loyalty.

10. Industrial history.

- a. The industrial revolution.
- b. Causes for present limited scope of apprenticeship.
- c. Citation of attempts at communistic enterprise.
- d. Discussion of state socialism, syndicalism, and industrial democracy. The limiting economic and psychological factors.

11. Problems of social betterment.

- a. Americanization of aliens.
- b. Education.

X. (C. H. C.) PROBLEMS OF PROGRAM OF SPECIAL CIVIC EDUCATION
FOR A CHINESE GROUP

1. *Group.* Boys in junior and senior classes of a special high school in China, which prepares them to come over to the United States for higher education. It is located in the outskirts of Peking (about four miles from the city).

2. *Diagnosis.* These boys come from prosperous families, which usually are not in Peking. They are admitted to the school by competitive examinations held in different parts of the country, and so they are a highly selected group. They are boys with ambition and vision, and have had substantial preparation, either in the middle school of the same institution, or in some other good institution. They have been guarded by considerable parental oversight and given special attention by teachers. During their schooling they are living in dormitories, seldom go home except in the summer vacations, and have little chance to associate with the opposite sex. They are well nourished by the controlled diet of the school. Their teachers are well trained and well paid. The facilities and equipment in the school are the best in the country. The school also has a large library and gymnasium, under the supervision of experts.

Dominant characteristics: physically healthy, interested in sports and games; eager to learn, failure of school work or poor grade regarded as a shame, keen competition in class work as well as in extra-curricular activities; there are no fraternities, but many clubs and organizations for intellectual purposes or otherwise, under the supervision of special committees of the faculty; possess high morale, being strongly conformist; religious instruction only through private Bible classes and informal; socially, they have parties often among themselves and with teachers; school atmosphere, highly solidified.

3. *Prognosis, general.* Except a few in the lower quartile, all will come to the United States for higher education, aided by government scholarships and, consequently, they are destined to become leaders in different professions. Owing to their special abilities and training, they usually enter the junior classes in small colleges first, and when they finish undergraduate work, they go to large institutions for postgraduate work. Usually, they stay in this country for five years, and carry with them Ph.D., M.A., or an engineering degree when they go back. They will do pioneer work in modernizing China, and they will be confronted with many difficult situations. Their responsibility is great, but their remuneration is often poor.

4. *Prognosis, special.* Besides civic education like that given to pupils in other institutions, they need a special civic education, which gives them special intelligence to understand the United States and to represent China, and to become leaders in different professions in China. They have had usually six or seven years of

English, and are taught often by American teachers and use English textbooks.

Without special civic education, they will be "superior" citizens. They have often heard of certain American ideals and manners, and are inspired by them. They are especially interested in "democracy," and read with much interest biographies of American heroes, and books about American ideals and manners. They are patriotic, loyal to the republic, and know their responsibility, but are rebellious against certain conventions and superstitions.

Most of them will become good writers and speakers. They are eager to learn to coöperate, interested in politics and national affairs. They are active and busy.

5. *Special civic education needed* and its objectives: (a) instruction in American ideals and ideas, so that they will have a clear understanding and sympathetic appreciation of them; (b) instruction in international relationship between the United States and China for the same purpose as above; (c) training in American customs and manners, so that they may know how to conduct themselves in American society; (d) training in special virtues, such as coöperation, initiative, etc., so that they will become good leaders; (e) instruction in knowledge of social, economic, and political affairs, so that they will become intelligent leaders; (f) training and instruction in effective methods for achieving desired political and social changes or reforms in their country.

6. *Special civic education given now*: (a) a course in American history and civics; (b) occasional lectures on American ideals and customs; (c) encouragement to participate in different activities by the faculty; (d) a course in economics.

7. *Special civic education to be added*. Necessary instruction and training to supplement 6, in order to fulfill 5.

8. *Problems of method*. (a) Shall we give special civic education in Alpha or Beta type of study, or both? (b) If it is Alpha, how shall the material be organized? by didactic presentations? by projects? by readings and reports? etc. (c) If it is Beta, how should it be done? by organizing clubs? by illustrating talks? by mock plays? etc. (d) If both are used, how can they be correlated?

9. *Proposed methods*. (a) A formal course in international relationships between the United States and China should be given, with readings and reports by the students. (b) A formal course consisting of lectures on American ideals and ideas, manners and customs, with readings and reports by the students. (c) A formal

course in political, social, and economic changes and theories should be given, with readings and reports by the students. (d) By correlating courses given now and those to be given, projects undertaken by students on topics related to 6 should be encouraged. (e) Mock plays about American customs and manners given by students with advice from American teachers should be encouraged. (f) Arrangement should be made with homes of American teachers and others interested in the college work to invite students to see their home life. Certain civic skills and habits should be encouraged and trained; e.g., Roberts' rules in conducting meetings, voting systems in electing officers, fair play in running for offices, special responsibility of members of committees for certain tasks, etc.

XI. (P. F. V.) CERTAIN PROBLEMS OF METHOD

In a scheme of objectives of social education which has been accepted provisionally, the next problem will be to determine how ideals and attitudes in that education can be taught. The following principles are submitted:

1. *Social education can best be given in a social environment.* Dewey says, "You cannot teach a child to swim unless you take him to the water." The gang, the clique, or neighborhood group is the natural gymnasium in which the qualities of citizenship must be exercised. These virtues can best be evoked and strengthened in the environment of the group. Sumner says, "Ethics do not exist except in a group." The more closely knit the group organization, the more powerfully will the group standards be impressed upon each individual. Lee says, in *Play in Education*: "The lack of definite social pressure is the weakest point in our present civilization. We need for our salvation the compelling influence of a particular group, with definite standards and stern transmission of them. With the primitive but definite ideals of barbarian society something very precious has been lost. We need in some form that compactness of social structure, capable of receiving and transmitting definite standards of behavior, without subjection to which the future citizen is denied the most important element in education."

2. The second principle is that *standards should be built up within the group and not imposed from without.* Only the recognized leaders of a group are able to modify its standards. A teacher or a policeman may hold a group in subjection by the sheer strength of his personality or authority, but until he is accepted by the group as an "insider,"

his influence will not extend beyond his authority. It is impossible for an outsider to break the will of a gang. His efforts are likely to have the opposite effect. Any individual member of the group who in a moment of weakness is induced to "tell tales" on the others, not only loses caste with the organization, but through his very treason strengthens the other members in their determination to adhere to the accepted standards.

3. The third principle is that *every modification of the standards of the group and every moral readjustment in the minds of the individuals composing the group can best be brought about by means of grappling with vital issues*. These issues must be related to the personal experiences or at least to the interesting vicarious experiences of the individual members. The most vital issues are those which tend to grow out of their immediate group life. Dr. Frank McMurry says that a series of issues which are vital to the student constitutes a curriculum. Dr. Dewey says that "ideas must be acquired in a vital way in order to become moving ideas, motive forces in the guidance of conduct." The vitalizing element is emotional. It is related to the needs or interests of the individual in relation to his group life. When a situation presents itself which demands a response on the part of all the individual members of the group, it becomes a vital issue. There will be interplay of minds. Facts will be brought out and information sought in the adjustment of the issue. It is evident that under these circumstances the information or knowledge that is acquired will find its proper place; namely, in the service of purpose.

4. The fourth principle is that *the positive social virtues can best be strengthened by means of actual participation*. The activities of the group must be coöperative. The boys must play together and work together; they must participate not only in the activities of the small group in which they hold their immediate membership, but also in many of the activities of the larger community of which they are a part. During the war our wisest teachers utilized their golden opportunity to teach citizenship by means of such participation projects as visiting the sick; war gardening; selling Liberty Bonds; investing in Savings Stamps; and working for the Red Cross. Such participation is useful not only because it tends to fix certain habits of participation, but also because it tends to establish certain ideals and attitudes. The development of a social conscience, of a community of interest, the bringing to bear of social pressures, will require a technique which is difficult to create unless there is social

participation. By helping to make the rules of the game, the individual will learn from experience how agreements are reached by compromise, and thus come to realize the advantages of coöperative activity. By being subjected to social pressure he learns to respond to it. By taking part in the projects of the group he will learn that he is expected to do his share of the work. By exercising his conscience on live moral issues he becomes sensitive to the principles involved.

5. The fifth principle is the *principle of group motivation*. Thorndike says, "Motivation must be strong enough so that the individual will act and act again and be dissatisfied by other types of action." In a group of Boy Scouts the leader constantly aims at social motivation. This is done by praising the group as a whole rather than any individual member of it, by setting up group objectives to be accomplished rather than individual objectives.

6. The sixth principle is that *the small group virtues should be strengthened and used as a basis for the strengthening of the virtues that will be useful in the larger group*. Each individual must learn to adjust himself to group life. The first adjustments that he learns to make are naturally those in the family circle and in the immediate neighborhood. The later and perhaps more impersonal adjustments to the larger community are interpreted in the light of his earlier and more personal adjustments. In the family and neighborhood group he must learn not to be quarrelsome, he must not tell lies, he must not commit injury against any member of the group, he must not be unjust, he must not steal, he must not be untruthful.

7. The seventh principle is that *the limits and the conflicts between the small and the large group relationships must be clearly defined and situations must be provided for solving problems in which such conflicts occur*. Small group loyalties are a menace to society at large, unless upon these loyalties there are grafted motives for the welfare of the larger group.

8. The eighth principle is that *the personality of the teacher or leader is a fundamental factor in the establishment of standards and traditions*. "As is the teacher, so is the school." The concrete reality of living personality in daily contact with the child is perhaps the most effective source of his ideals. There is nothing more contagious than personal example. The virtues and the vices of the leader tend to be imitated by the members of the group. The attitudes, tastes, prejudices, and ideals of the leader tend to be unconsciously absorbed. The sum total of the leader's attitudes,

tastes, prejudices, and ideals constitutes his personality. Ideals thus become "inspiring" when they are exemplified in the life of an individual, and the influence of such an individual leader is limited only by the positive or negative emotional reactions on the part of those who are being led.

9. The ninth principle is *the principle of utilizing mottoes, slogans, shibboleths, taboos, and other words or phrases which will tend to unify or organize for each individual the standards which he is accepting from the group*. Examples of such mottoes stated in the negative are: "Don't be a quitter;" "Don't be yellow;" "Don't be a mucker," "a squealer," "a pussy-footer;" "Don't be a cad." Other examples stated positively are: "Be square;" "Be honest;" "The 'fair play' boy;" "The square dealers."

10. The tenth principle is *the law of effect*. The best way to build an inhibitive habit in any individual against an antisocial practice is to associate the practice with dissatisfaction or annoyance. One such annoyance may be enough to form a permanent inhibition. The burnt child dreads the fire. The burning was an annoyance. The boy who is caught in the act of cheating or stealing and who finds social pressure and disapproval against such practice, may be permanently cured the moment he feels the sense of shame. In a former generation the clergyman tried to arouse his hearers to a "consciousness of sin." This is good educational psychology. A strong feeling of dissatisfaction will set up inhibitive tendencies that will stand in the way of a reaction when the next temptation comes.

The counterpart of this principle is *the law of satisfaction*. Dewey says that "inhibition is not sufficient; instincts and impulses must be concentrated upon positive ends." When a boy has done a good deed, when he has rendered a social service, when he has shown himself trustworthy in word and act, his right action should be accompanied by satisfaction. This satisfaction may be the result of an inner "squaring" of his action with his accepted standards. Or it may be the result of the approval of his superiors and of his equals of his right action.

11. The eleventh principle is that *ideals and attitudes are generalizations of specific habits*. "Build from specific habits by the inductive method," says Snedden. "Prejudices and attitudes may grow out of specific habits," says Bagley, "as when the habits of Sunday observance, established in early childhood, become more or less explicitly formulated as ideals and gradually come to express

themselves as prejudices which make the lack of observance a matter of discomfort and annoyance. . . . From the specific habits of accuracy developed by mathematics, one comes gradually to idealize accuracy as a method of procedure that will bring desirable results in other fields."

12. The final principle is that *ideals are best strengthened through emotional experiences*. This is almost a corollary of the law of effect. No amount of reasoning can move a man to act unless his feelings are also involved. These feelings may not be violent, they may not be outwardly manifest, but they are ever present as satisfiers and annoyers, influencing the selective activities of the mind. It is, therefore, easy to believe that our ideals are influenced by means of literature and music and other forms of art which appeal to the emotions. Our actions are determined by our loves and hates. The more powerful these emotions, the more effective are the ideals to which they are attached.

The cumulative effect of emotions when they are interacting in a crowd is still but little understood. It is a well-known fact, however, that emotional effects are greatly heightened in the presence of a multitude. Religious fervor is intensified, a war spirit is spread when men are congregated in meetings. It is for this reason that an English writer, Mr. F. H. Hayward, in his *Spiritual Foundations of the Future* suggests the wider use of celebrations, pageants, ceremonies, dramatic representations, and other public performances as a means of stimulating emotional fervor in an assembled multitude and joining this fervor with such ideas of patriotism, religion, and human brotherhood as seem most desirable to be perpetuated.

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